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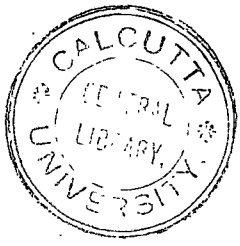

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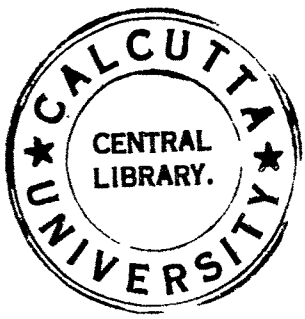

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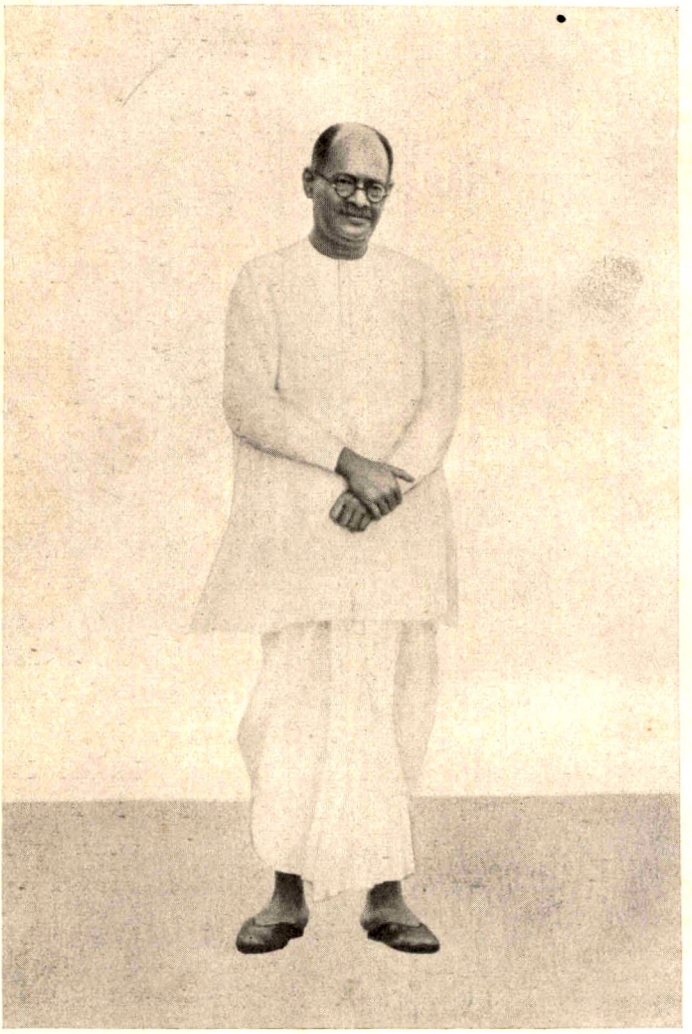

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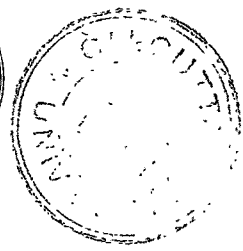

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1942

THE ROMANS AT WORK AND AT PLAY

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, M.A., D.LITT., D.C.L., LL.D.

THE history of Rome is a necessary part of an academic curriculum, but most histories are too learned to be human and follow the conventional course, adopted by all histories, of confining themselves to chronicling the succession of Kings and their public acts and exploits together with such acts and exploits of their chieftains and notable courtiers. But the life of the common man is seldom portrayed because such men are too low in the social scale to be thought of and their lives are too monotonous to be the subject of historical memoirs. This course marks the bulk of the histories of such democratic countries as Greece and Rome, in which the freemen formed the sovereign states and of which the most notable events were the rise of some of them to position and power. But over and beyond them stood the mass of the people who lived and died unhonoured and unsung but whose lives gave to the countries the character which has made them the necessary subjects of modern study.

Of the two, Greece had never a large Empire, or in fact any Empire at all, and its life though worthy of study does not bear the imprint of Imperialism. But in the case of Rome, her history is long and glorious, the more because it is the history of a single city of 11 to 16 lacs in population, and of its people who were at no time of unmixed patrician descent.

The daily life and work of this people is interesting, in that it proves that a people though varied could still possess a character to found and rule an Empire larger and better than any since founded. In these pages I wish to give the matter-of-fact daily life of an average Roman from the days of the early Republic to the closing days of the Empire, that is to say, from the reputed foundation of Rome (20th April, 753 B.C.) to its fall (87 A.D.) and the close of the Republican period followed by the establishment of the First Triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus (60 A.D.) down to the removal of the capital from Rome to Byzantium (321 A.D.).

In the first epoch while the foundation of the Republic was laid and the sanctity of Rome proclaimed to the inhabitants of the Provinces, the Roman citizen had a character and led a life, of which only a very general and crude delineation is, for want of material, possible. And yet this is the most glorious and memorable epoch in the Roman History. Ample materials are available, from which we can piece together the life of the Roman in the second period of his history (321 B.C.—87 A.D.). The towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii, finally destroyed by an earthquake on the evening of 24th August, 79 A.D. while its principal citizens were assembled at a theatre where public spectacles were being exhibited, afford a visual representation of the life of the Romans as it was led in the suburban sanitarium of the first century A.D.

I have visited the excavated city and made copious notes upon which I shall draw to confirm or correct the published version of the Roman's life in this second (less interesting but more accessible) period. The life of a Roman during this period has varied, but not varied so as to stamp on it a different character. To begin with, let me give a cursory description of Rome as it is left today. It is a large city on the left bank of the Tiber, a small river flowing much below its level but in parts it overflowed its banks and flooded the surrounding country. One such locality below the hills has been reclaimed and Mussolini has erected thereon a Forum to commemorate his Dictatorship of the eternal city. I have seen this gorgeous creation, upon which the founder has lavished the prodigality of marble which covers something like ten or more acres of ground, designed for the conventional purpose for which forums were erected in former times. Numerous such forums exist, but they are all in ruins, except the west forum. These forums were designed to recreate the people by providing them

all the popular amenities, such as the baths, reading room, library, gymnasium, restaurants, theatres, race course, recitation hall, a court of justice, and other amenities to attract and amuse the public.

There is no reason why of all places in Italy Romulus and Remus should have chosen Rome for their abode except the mere accident of their birth in the neighbouring Palatine Hill, because if an expert town-planner were consulted he would have selected Naples in preference to Rome in spite of its proximity to Mount Vesuvius. But as it is, the site of Rome in a plain dotted all around by low hills, some 100 to 300 feet high, which are now vacant except for the ruins of old monuments, which gave the City the reputation of being built upon seven hills. As such it looks like Delhi except that Delhi has only one small ridge and no river like the Tiber, which was of no advantage to the Romans, in that it could not have been navigable except to small boats, but was the breeding ground for malaria from which Rome suffered and which is sometimes spoken of as its one cause for decline. The climate of Rome is lovely, being warm, but not too hot in summer which starts in June and ends in September, with the result that August and September were treated as fit months for the summer vacation when the Courts were closed as they are both in England and in Bengal today. In winter Rome is delightfully cool but there is no fall of snow and it required the intervention of Virgin Mary to shower it once many hundred years ago.

The fact is that, taken all in all, Italy has the finest climate in Europe, though it cannot be said that the climate is equally salubrious. Modern Rome is a large city with a population of 1,284,600 souls, according to the census of 1930, but its population under the Republic and the supervening Empire has never been ascertained. A census taken by Claudius about 48 A.D. stated its population to be 5,944,000 but this may have included its fourteen suburbs, and even then the terrain so enlarged could not have held that vast aggregation of humanity, and modern computation estimates its population could not have much exceeded a million to a million and a half. The boundaries of Rome were from time to time delimited and extended, but under Imperial Rome its boundaries were greatly extended though its population did not exceed the figure already given. The people lived in Rome promiscuously; there was no area assigned to one class, the rich and the poor, the Patricians and the Plebians jostled in no set area, and we find today, as did those who lived in the age of its

ancient history, one magnificent palatial house surrounded by the modest tenements of the artizan, the barber and the astrologer. The republican spirit of human equality is typified in its dwellings, though for convenience some order became established, and a few houses of the people of a given trade or calling became necessarily built in juxtaposition, but there was no town planning and ancient Rome was a city of palaces and slums, both of which suffered from want of sanitation and hygiene which were both primitive and casual. In 64 A.D. there was a great fire after which Nero tried to re-plan and re-build the capital, and similar attempts had fired the ambition of numerous Emperors, Dictators and Censors, though they all left the ancient origin and the old distinctions intact, with the result that its streets were confined, winding and twisting, narrow and drawn haphazard between the masses of giant edifices which rendered their tortuous course even more conspicuous. The fact is that among all the innumerable streets, really lanes of Rome, only two inside the Republican Wall could be justly described as *Via* or Streets. They were paved with flagstones and were 4·80 to 6·50 metres in width. Even as such they had not gone much beyond the 4·80 metres prescribed by the Twelve Tables.

Apart from these metric measurations the relics of these streets now on view in Rome do not appear to be too narrow for the kind of traffic they had to cope with. Two chariots could not have crossed them but for pedestrians and their sedan chairs in which they ordinarily moved about they were narrow but still endurable. They were all beflagged and must have been free from dust and mud in the rains.

But the streets and buildings did not make Rome nor added to her glory, for which the character of the people was responsible. In the early days of the Republic they were imbued with the spirit of freedom and fair-play. Their lives were arduous and simple, their occupations well organized and the spirit of liberty was the main-spring of their action. As usual in all primitive countries the early life of the people is captured by religion, with the result that the imprisonment of the soul in the coils of religion arrests its development and alters its course of action. Such has been the long history of our country and, indeed, of all oriental countries. But in Rome the earliest encroachment of religion was followed by the separation of the Church from the State, and it is the

central pivot of republican advance, as witness the same act by Kemal Pasha Ataturk which has rejuvenated Turkey. The fact is that the two forces that captivate man in his days of ignorance and fear are the State and the Church, and they apportion his whole life from birth to death. The people are reduced to the abject condition of life-long servitude, and their only choice is to obey, obey, obey. It stands to the credit of Rome that its early progenitors rose above the trammels of religion and relegated it into the background of public policy. That was the ruling *motif* of Republican Rome. It led to the world conquest and that conquest converted the character of the simple, hardworking Roman people. The acquisition of cheap labour provided by the slaves, of whom millions were captured in the great wars, created an easier outlook and implanted in the people a sense of luxury, ease and indolence which lost no time in transforming their lives bringing in its train elected and later hereditary monarchy and the vaulting ambition of the monarch to be deified in life and worshipped in place of the gods who deserted their temples. Married life underwent cataclysmic transformation. The husband took to concubinage as an open institution and the wife to corresponding intrigues with his slave menials, against which castration was attempted but given up as useless, since the slave market was still open and both the man and his wife selected their slaves for their physical strength and beauty and these were attached to the household in hundreds with the result that a short-lived edict limited their number not to exceed a hundred.

The slaves relieved the Roman of his labour while his wealth which came pouring in from all parts of the Empire relieved him from his work and labour throwing him into life-long indolence and luxury and he became as lazy, slothful and arrogant as his ancestors had been hardworking, diligent and dutiful. The children, who were under direct parental care for education and discipline, were thrown into the lap of Greek hireling nurses, while the parents got busy doing nothing, playing chess or idling their time in the amusements of the Forum and the clubs.

A new call for *poenum et circensus* (Bread and Sport) went up to those in power who strengthened their authority by the lavish display of games and the sumptuous festivities of the people charged to the public revenues. The personal make up of the Roman in the Republican and the Imperialistic age can be judged from the

statuary still preserved and exhibited in the British Museum. Both the men and the women appear to have dressed alike, they wore a loose gown called *toga* which was fastened at the waist by a sash or scarf and its quality and colour depended upon the taste and position of the wearer. Both sexes are seen wrapped in a shawl of wool or silk imported from India which was held in rhythmic folds of a dazzling colour. They wore nothing on the head, but the women either wore a diadem or passed a simple bandeau of crimson through their hair. They carried a peacock's feather fan in one hand and a sunshade in the other, which, however, was more often entrusted to their attend-slaves.

The women in Rome were at no time removed to *purdah*, but they observed a certain measure of aloofness from the male folk, though there was nothing to prevent them from taking part in the public life of the city.

The men of Rome, as those of Greece, Assyria, Babylon and Mohenjo Daro, did not shave their faces, though the barber in Rome was an artist whose services were both appreciated and valued and he often close-cut the hair or shaved his client or smoothed his chin with a depilatory liniment made of resin and pitch, or had their hairs individually plucked out with tweezers. No relic of a razor or scissors has been discovered, though I have seen numerous specimens of fine steel razors with slightly curved blades in the museum at Mohenjo Daro, which shows that though rare the razor was a well-known implement in the barber's hand, which he used to ply with dexterity as it paved the way to his popularity and opulence. Women practised hair-dressing as well as men and they had specialized in the women's needs and vanity to the same extent as the ladies of the modern beauty parlour in Europe.

Amongst the numerous occupations, trades and professions continued directly or vicariously, that of the poet, the orator, the playwright and the rhetorician drew large audiences, though these learned professions do not seem to have been very remunerative or paying. But they brought in *Kudos* which was worth all the money they could have made in less intellectual pursuits. The law courts gave the advocate his chance of public declamation. The Roman was acutely litigious and delighted in indulging in costly litigation, if only for the sake of providing himself and his friends with amusement, just as the wealthy Roman took his friends to a gladiatorial show, a

circus, or a theatre. The Roman courts, like the modern court, were open to all, and were thronged with spectators, both male and female. The court room was a spacious hall divided into three naves by marble-faced columns and the central nave measused 18 × 82 metres. The Praetor acted as the judge and he was assisted by 90 or more assessors who sat with him. This constituted the *Court of Centumviri*, not because there were a hundred members but the number was near to it. At some such court the Emperor himself presided. Four such courts held their session at the same time, with the result that the thunder of a defending counsel often filled the vast hall and drowned the controversies in the other chambers, the judges and the spectators of which gladly turned to hear the declamation of a popular counsel, whose popularity was enhanced by the uproarious applause of the hired spectators.

The counsel's set orations were delivered with remote regard to relevancy, but counsel had his freedom of speech within a time alloted to him and he often used it to delight his jury and audience by his wit and rhetoric rather than by his logic and close reasoning.

The more popular circuses, amphitheatres and the colosseum, the ruins of which are still visible, and which is computed to hold 50,000 people, 45,000 seated and 5,000 standing. There is nothing in the world, not even in America, to compare with its magnitude. The recitation of one's composition before the public attracted large audiences and the authorities made this possible by the construction of gorgeous halls provided with every amenity to enable authors to display the products of their pen.

Side by side with the new development of physical comfort came a new vogue in the daily food. In Republican Rome everything was held within reason, in the Neo-Imperialism everything ran riot. Banquets and dinners were never too long if they lasted twelve hours, to which were added the baths of every kind in which the citizen spent many an idle hour. Men and women ate together from couches, reclining over their meal, and after the meal was over the guests collected tit-bits to carry away home in their own napkins which many brought with them for that purpose. The slaves who cooked the meal were experts and revelled in serving fancy dishes, for which room had to be found by frequent evacuations.

The Romans treated their slaves as members of their own household and numerous outlets were found for their emancipation and

subsequent life as freemen when no office was denied to them. As might be expected the rare privileges of the Roman citizen attracted the provincials and those of the Patricians the Plebians so that in the end it became a distinction without a difference.

A question has been asked and frequently answered by laying undue emphasis upon one or more causes which culminated in the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. That Empire fell because it had lived its day. The Romans fought when there was anything to fight for, they enjoyed life when there was nothing to fight for. The barbaric hordes from the north overran the Empire and the growing influence of Christianity once more blended spiritual power with secular sovereignity—the result was the emergence of a Holy Roman Empire which continued from 936 A.D. to the 6th August, 1806, when Napoleon ended it by forcing the abdication of its last Emperor Francis the Second.

GYANENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

DR. SAROJKUMAR DAS, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON)
University of Calcutta

"If life in intensity
Evolves in personality,
Only through death can humanity
Evolve in Divinity;
Thus man, a little less than Divine,
Shall be Divine."

—Quoted from 'To Death' in *The Call to High*, by G. C. Ghosh.

SUCH was in essence the philosophy of life consistently preached by this great soul in and through the commentary of his own dedicated life—a life ever responsive to 'the Call to High,' which proclaims 'love to be the divine Law,' that is 'the creed of creeds, the deed of deeds,' whereby 'the descending heaven kisses the earth, the earth ascending kisses the heaven.' [1] If every 'man is his deed' and, therefore, 'should ever cultivate only the spirit of love, and strive only for good action,' [2] there could be conceived no better epitaph on the greatness of this consecrated soul than the poem of his own composition, quoted in excerpt and prefixed to this memoir, imperfect and sketchy as it admittedly is.

If the real individual is 'that sphere which his activity doth fill,' the best way to encompass his whole life is to find out the centre from which radiate all those influences that make for the continuous life-history of the individual. It is the intimate religious conviction of the individual that serves as the focal point at which is summed up the meaning or dominant note of his life in the integrity of its being. As it has been wisely observed, a man's religion is his attitude towards the universe as a whole, a response of the whole man to the whole Reality, a 'total reaction upon experience.' Accordingly, ours will be the task—a task of fundamental and foundational importance in this context—of piecing together those flashes of religious inspiration which lie scattered in the writings, of a high-pitched key, that stand

[1] *The Call to High*, pp. 2, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

to the credit of the departed great. In prosecuting our task we shall, as far as possible, draw upon those of his contributions which had been originally published in this very Journal within the space of ten years (1922-32), and later reproduced in his compilation under the title *The Call to High*. But our sole aim in this respect is a presentation, scrupulously objective and faithful, in deference to the edifying personality of the writer, who has just passed away from our midst.

One of the obituary notices after his demise represented the late Mr. Ghosh as 'a man of broad cultural outlook,' and, what is more to the point, as 'a Non-Conformist Christian.' The representation is true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. At its worst it may mean anything or nothing. Without going in for these negative and colourless descriptions which leave the main issue untouched, it would be far more instructive and profitable for us to ascertain the measure of his conformity to the Christian faith which, as a lay preacher, he has striven with whole-hearted devotion to propagate in and through his informative writings. Believing, as we do, all advance labelling of one's faith to be a mistake or misdirection, we do yet believe that a wide acquaintance with the original writings of the author will serve to lift the miasma of passions and prejudices, and focus our attention on the cherished creed of his heart. No useful purpose will be served by running after delightfully vague labels and catch-phrases; if brevity is the soul of wit, ambiguity is the soul of sophistry. Indeed, we shall not get any the nearer to our goal in having ourselves preoccupied *ab initio* with classifications of questionable importance—whether, in point of fact, he was a literalist or a non-conformist, a dogmatist or a rationalist, a modernist or a fundamentalist. Granted that such initial settlement of the problem is possible, still the query that is sure to be raised is—*cui bono*, what is the good of it? For example, it may be affirmed with a fair degree of accuracy that the writings of the devout author furnish a remarkable study in religious liberalism. Religious liberalism, as a studied recoil from religious bigotry or intolerance, very often serves as a cloak for religious indifferentism or apathy. The late Mr. Ghosh's liberalism stood in a class apart. It was a liberalism which proceeded from the fundamental article of his faith, and proved to be the logical counterpart of that Christian 'charity' of which he was a living exemplar in our own time.

Seized on the positive side, his religious faith—which was avowedly Christian in essence—will be found to have resolved itself into a simple formula. It was Christo-centric in *method* but theo-centric in *goal*. Accordingly, he repudiated, with all the emphasis that he could command, the Pauline version of institutional Christianity which had pledged itself, all along down the course of ecclesiastical history, to the Godhood of Christ. That this was not the original Christianity of Christ but a perverted version thereof, he had proved to demonstration by quoting chapter and verse in profusion from the canonical literature on the subject. In the *Preface* to *The Call to High* he has had it on record, "In these writings I have endeavoured to render God His dues which have been robbed by traditional Christianity, abrogating to Christ His power to save, though Isaiah said. God said to him that He is the only one Lord and the Redeemer and Saviour of men and also Christ himself said, Hear, O, Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. St. Paul, I think, would have done well for the world of man to leave Christ alone: but he raised him to Godhood after his death; and his disciples afterwards, being imbued with his perverse teaching, enjoined his believers 'to hold fast the faith once delivered to the saints'." That this was his pervasive theme, at least in its polemical aspect, is abundantly proved by the ever-recurring rhythm in which it appears in his writings from first to last. Let us content ourselves with two typical assertions on the point. Discoursing on the lofty theme of 'A World-Religion,' he is constrained to remark, "The essence of St. Paul's philosophy was that a belief in Christ, as the son of God, was all that was necessary for man's salvation, as Christ by his superfluous virtue had stood for man before God as his accepted ransom and substitute. The same small-mindedness as had led the ancient Jews to make their Jehovah a tribal Deity led St. Paul to make God a sectarian Deity available only for the salvation of the Christian. This is quite contradictory to the whole teaching of Christ, who said 'Do this and live.' In other words, Christ taught that man's salvation was to be secured not by any creed, but by his change of heart and actual deed of love." [1] In further confirmation, as it were, of this very conclusion of his, he dealt the final *coup de grâce* in his last,

[1] *The Calcutta Review*, June, 1932, p. 408.

and probably the best, dissertation on the subject, as he solemnly averred, "It may be noted by the reader that St. Paul's doctrine which consisted in the subversion of the religion of Christ, though inculcating his elevation to divinity, cannot properly be called Christianity, or the religion as preached by Christ, though it now associated with his name. . . . The ideal of Pauline Christianity is a Triune God and belief in Him, but that of the religion of Christ is the only one God and the love of such a God and man." [1]

The other valuable element—in fact, the vital factor—on the affirmative side of his religious faith is his illuminating definition of Religion. Here also does his innate liberalism or catholicism speak with an individual accent all its own. Being the devout God-filled man he was, he spared no pains to impress upon his readers that loyalty to one's religion must be either thorough-going or nothing—its characteristic language being '*this* and no other.' With the same religious ardour has he shown in his life and writings that loyalty to one's faith, unless punctuated with forward reference to a loyalty to a world-religion, is too apt to breed a hatred or intolerance of other faiths, which transforms it into a questionable asset, if not a downright liability, in the spiritual balance-sheet of humanity. He has left no stone unturned to prove that religion, by its very definition, is something dynamic, and as such one religion must for ever grow and develop by means of mutual contact with other religions, and convergence towards a world-religion in which each is to be consummated. In the words of the departed great, "Religion has been and ever shall be a search for religion, helped by the progressive light of man. It cannot be based on any man's dogmatic statement, however great he may be. Christ, knowing that religion is a thing in making, enjoined man to seek truth that he may be 'free,' or he taught that as truth is a fundamental ingredient of religion in evolution, it should for ever be sought by man for his abiding happiness." [2] Accordingly, "as every religion contains some truths, and as all truths combined constitute Reality or God, so until all truths are apprehended and accepted by men, it will not be possible for them to arrive at one ultimate religion. . . . It is, therefore, to be hoped that all men, in their longing for a closer relation with God

[1] *The Calcutta Review*, Nov.-Dec., 1932, p. 344; "The Religion of Christ and After," pp. 366-67.

[2] *The Call to High*, "The Rational Exposition of Religion," pp. 78-79.

through their increased knowledge of truth, will always help the future progress towards a final religion, for religion is the adaptation of the law of perfection to spiritual life. The advent of a finally perfected religion will remove all the religious differences of men and pave the way for the establishment of concord and goodwill among them for ever." [1] The lost radiance of the religion of Christ is due to the failure, on the part of institutional or Pauline Christianity, to rise to the height of this ideal of Perfectionism. "As it is certain," to quote the forceful language of our revered author, "that man's true happiness cannot be secured except by living out the life as approved by God and lived out by Christ, it will be perceived that the Pauline theology which has, in fact, jettisoned the cardinals of the religion of Christ has impeded the moral and spiritual progress of Christians. But to men whose judgment is not clouded by the bias of sectarianism, it is palpable that the belief in, and adherence to, the Pauline theology during the last nineteen centuries, in an ever-progressive world, has not been able to produce any moral, much less spiritual, superiority over the non-Christian peoples. Beneath the glistering veneer of their vaunted high culture and civilization, the old animal nature, in all its horrid forms, still dominates their lives to the anguish of God, observing which Gladstone, who was no misanthrope and had the opportunity of the experience of men and their affairs for a much longer period than many, said, 'The cruelty of Christians is more cruel; the lust of Christians is more lustful; the animal greed of Christians is ten-fold more greedy; and the pre-Christian times afford us no panorama of Mammon-worship to compare for a moment with our own. The luxury and worldliness was but child's play in relation to those of modern times." [2] The Pauline Christianity, which is commissioned to replace the disciplinary uplift of the ethical religion of Christ by the cheap and easy salvation in the keeping of a lip-service to its dogmatic theology, must needs court a failure of this kind. For, "in spite of the clear instruction of Christ that only through the practice of loving service man can save man, unfortunately in the whole so-called Christendom—where Christ is not the imperator nor his religion is its religion, but St. Paul is its imperator and his new theology is its religion—men are blindly led to believe and live in the hope that God will bless them

[1] *The Calcutta Review*, "A World-Religion," pp. 397-98.
[2] *The Calcutta Review*, "The Religion of Christ and After," p. 354.

for their belief, which practically does away with the necessity of striving for the perfection of character." [1] With a prophetic insight he sees that "the disintegration of Christianity now proceeding is bound to continue, until, shorn of its dogmatic drapery, it will be reduced to its fundamental elements, as preached by its divine founder—the common essentials of all religions worthy of the name."[2] Nevertheless, in the face of disconcerting evidences and distressing portents, the inspiring author of "*The Religion of Christ and After*" has steadily envisaged a consummation of our religious faiths when Religion will not be lost sight of for religions, when Man will no longer be forgotten in the Christian, and "when the religion of Christ will be re-established with fuller knowledge and acceptance of truth" and "it will lead to *mukti*" or redemption—not, however, 'redemption, Hindu and Christian.' And "then all religions shall merge in one and all men shall know God and rejoice, knowing Him as the only one God and Saviour, Love, Joy, Truth and Reality, the seed of good and salvation and themselves as the complements of His fulness and co-sharers of his glory." [3] Herein he finally discovers a "harmony which runs like a thread through the teachings of all the prophets and teachers sent by God"—that is to say, "the rich inheritance that the world owes to Vyasa, Confucius, Zoroaster, the Buddha, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad, Ramkrishna and others who have taught man his one supreme duty, namely, the practice of the love of God and man, by which means alone can the attainment of man's ultimate happiness be possible" and a universal religion "leading to the ultimate happiness of the whole human race."[4]

It is heartening to find that this is the edifying vision that led to the foundation by him of the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship on Comparative Religion, which is designed to demonstrate that 'the fundamental basis of all religions must be identical, aiming at the same end which appears to be nothing but the unity of God and men—the consummation of their happiness.' [5] It is the same spirit of study and research—'the adventure of faith,' in short, that permeates his famous dissertation, *viz.*, "The Pantheistic Aspect of Christianity,"

1 *Loc. cit.*, p. 364.
2 *The Calcutta Review*, June, 1932, "A World-Religion," p. 409.
3 *Ibid.*, Nov.-Dec., 1932, p. 366.
4 *Ibid.* June, 1932, pp. 415-16.
5 Quoted from the final recension of "A General Outline of Lectures" conveyed in his letter of 24th September, 1923, by the Founder.

which appeared in three successive issues of the *Calcutta Review* (for November and December, 1924 and January, 1925). It came into being as a challenge, as well as a complement, to "Pantheism in the Bhagavad-Gita," by a renowned missionary Professor, and, in the execution of his task, the devout Christian author, like another *Athanasius contra mundum*, has marshalled his materials with such a wealth of accredited texts and historical details that no apologist or exegete has ventured as yet to take up the gauntlet. Instead of making random quotations, which fail to do justice to the spirit of the whole dissertation, we shall simply say that, having gone through it, we are the better enabled to appreciate the full significance of the saying of Christ inserted, as a motto, at the head of his latest book, *The Call to High*, "Full well ye reject the Commandment of God that ye may keep your own tradition!"

Such was the nature of the dedicated soul whose sole concern in life was that he might not be enlisted with "the third sort of men in the world," as distinct from "the two sorts of men, namely, saints and sinners"—the "self-centred," who "live only for themselves" as "a hopelessly lost set of men" and would "never go to heaven."[1] Having lived out in full an exemplary life of self-denying ordinance in unstained and unstinted allegiance to the Master who came only to minister and not to be ministered unto, the departed great is appropriately one

> "Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence: live
> In pulses stirred to generosity
> In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
> For miserable aims that end with self,
> In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
> And with their mild persistence urge man's search
> To vaster issues.
> So to live is heaven!"

[1] *The Call to High*, p. 281.

A NOTE ON THE NEW ENGLISH DRAMA

DR. AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

THE Poetic Drama, as we know, has a fine literary lineage—it is not a new and spontaneous creation of the Modern Age. The Elizabethan Age already saw its glory, and whether it was Marlowe in his *Dr. Faustus* or Shakespeare in his great plays, the palm of pioneering, not to speak of their genius, goes to the ancients. And yet the Modern Age has not only revived the poetic drama after a long hibernation but actually given it a new and strangely compelling reality. Of all the modern poetic forms, this one has indeed very definitely arrived. The *Murder in the Cathedral* by Eliot is already a modern classic. This is no fanatical praise but a statistical fact proved by the record box-office receipts, and a never-failing run whenever this play is put on the stage. It is also a literary fact proved by the unstinted testimony of "sober" critics who view every modern experiment with frank disfavour—even St. John Ervine of the "Observer," a trenchant opponent of all recent literature, and no less a dramatic critic than Desmond Maccarthy, who shines in golden commonsense, have accepted that poetic drama as a great achievement. And if there are still any doubting Thomases, the august pronouncement of the "Times" ought to silence them!

How did this happen? Why should this age of analytical disruption succeed in producing this fine form of literature—the poetic drama—which demands a more stringent coherence, a more rhythmic and realistic blend of imagination and pure form than almost any other medium of literature? We can hardly offer an answer while ourselves living in the midst of this process of literary movements, but we can describe the process itself and a few outstanding creations that have emerged therefrom, and such a description might suggest possible answers.

Technically speaking, the greatest single contributory factor is perhaps the evolution of "free verse." It meant the application of spoken verse to literature, in a diversity of literary forms which offered greater room for the expression of modern moods and complex feelings than the more severely regulated metrical forms of poetry. Free

Verse lent itself to monologues which led to dramatic effects as in Eliot's poem—*Prufrock* ; free verse, again, made for poetic satires and sketches as in Auden's varied repertoire of serio-comic pieces, fantasies, and psychological hits. Free verse, in another way, prepared a new matrix of chorus-forms, and you have in the choruses of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, and of *Trial of a Judge* by Spender remarkably lucid, profound and yet almost colloquial poetry in which intellectualised feelings, or emotionalised ideas—whichever you may call them—have been distilled. Remember the passage where the crowd in Eliot chant, in ominous unison, the strange sudden blight that has visited their corn-fields, and darkened their rural landscape as with the wings of a shadowy premonition. Take the noble hymn of affirmation beginning with the lines

> " All things affirm Thee in living, the bird in the air
> Both the hawk and the finch ; the beast on the earth,
> Both the wolf and the lamb ;
> . . . Even in us the voice of seasons,
> The snuffle of Winter, the song of Spring,
> The drone of Summer, the voices of beasts
> And of birds, praise Thee. . . . "

We are struck by a new synchronisation of every-day phraseology with subtle rhythmic beauty. The artistic counterpoint is reached by a finely arrayed crescendo of speech which, without exceeding the limits of cultured conversational language, yet achieves high lyrical tension. Walt Whitman's experiments, which often unsuccessfully descended into prose, are behind this ; Ezra Pound's frequently chaotic but intense " verse libre " is directly traceable ; and we have to thank Hopkins for his bold and reverent explosions into speech rhythm for this new path-breaking of free verse. Technically, therefore, the ground was prepared by a new variation and extension of poetic speech. When Auden speaks—in *The Dog beneath the Skin*—of pity, he can move from profound passion to an obviously topical reference, without creating disharmony. And this is because the form of the new poetic drama is sustained by a structure of intricate free verse which can range widely from the abstract to the incidental and the other way about, in a manner which only free verse can do.

> " O human pity, gripped by the crying of a captured bird
> wincing at the sight of surgeon's lance—"

is a typical line. The starting point is ode-like in apostrophising pity but a quick turn in the same line brings us to the medical surgeon. Then, again, we have the rapid transition from the particular and topical to an abstract speculation:

"In the hour of the Blue Bird and the Bristol Bomber
His thoughts are appropriate to the Penny Farthing:
He tosses at night who at noonday found no truth."

Transitions like this go on all the time, and the dramatic quality is already there, produced by psychological change and contrast embodied in a speech rhythm which naturally seeks a dramatic unity and characterisation. Free verse hungers for the drama, for varieties of feeling and character, it almost suggests the dramatic form in which it finds culmination:

"Life ? Life ? . . .
. . . In back streets,
In rooms with bugs, in courts with sunless flowers
Where radio crazily jazzes
And the . . . arms of women beat their carpets."

These lines, from Spender's *Vienna*, inevitably force upon us a picture of a squalid modern city, and though this earlier play of Spender is not a success, we can watch in it the emergence of a "suburban" drama almost leaping up from the suggestions inherent in the free-verse-forming mind.

Take, finally, another passage from Auden, in which a free-verse chorus speaks of a typically modern theme—the internal combustion engine. The description of a dynamo is powerful and it also evokes a picture not only of the machinery but of the large background of a teeming city and, what is more, a whole way of life and civilisation:

"Look thro' the grating at the vast machinery:
the dynamos and turbines
Grave, giving no sign of the hurricane of steam
within their huge steel bottles,
And the Diesel engines like Howdahed elephants: at the
dials with their flickering pointers:
Power to the city."

From this, one naturally and immediately enters a big city: it is, in this particular case, a continental city; we enter, hoping to meet not only ideas but characters, and the characters do come as they would when we come to a world of men. We see how this kind of thing naturally leads up to the modern poetic drama—the threads of a fine pictorial mind must be there and the drama too, both contemporaneous and evocative, inescapably arises out of it. Perhaps, to a certain extent, the range of modern poetic drama is circumscribed within the limits of modern themes and circumstances; the freedom of free verse is there a limitation, making it difficult for the artist to keep to one level, or to a single vision. Even in *The Murder in the Cathedral*, which frankly starts with a 12th century theme, the modern chorus-forms and the free-verse patterns inescapably drag in the contemporary atmosphere, the crowd becomes a modern crowd, the verse itself seems to make them self-conscious in our own manner.

So far, I have laid stress on the evolution of the *form* of the modern poetic drama because most often the key is lost to us in merely discussing the subject-matter of a drama. This is like tracing the evolution of man by leaving out the direct evidence of the body, and the biological science. The modern poetic drama can be seen coherently in relation to the new forms of verse, of dramatic moods and of vivid psychological colour which have been and are being deposited by the contemporary *language* of imagination. The dramatic themes, as indicated, bear an organic relation to the medium of verse and have to be studied in the context of ideas and of our social evolution.

The Victorian Age produced insignificant poetic dramas because the texture of poetic language was not rich, and the range of experience was defined by an accepted plenitude, largely founded on the class-system, on institutional religion, and on a supposedly secure economic and political order. Here we come to the fundamental problem of subject-matter in relation to the poetic drama, or to any kind of drama. Real dramatic achievement is only possible to a free imagination—such as we found in the Elizabethan Age. Success, prosperity and settled ideas may help other forms of literature, but no great poetic dramas could be written in an age like the 18th century. That was the age of prose and the age of a certain type of the Novel. A French Revolution was needed to stir up English lyrical poetry. But the Revolution, after all, never reached England itself—the horizon was touched with flaming colours and that was enough. And the Romantic Age produced

no great poetic drama—judged from that view-point, the *Prometheus Unbound* is a string of passionate lyrics. In England a social revolution, stirring every aspect of life and literature, comparable to the Renascence days of turmoil, can only be seen in the years following upon the last War. The whole nation was stirred to the depth: patriotism, disillusionment, agony and hope and vivid colourful crucial days and months and years registered a passionage energy of mind paralleled only in the days of Shakespeare. There has also been, as we have already pointed out, a similar series of explosions and experimentations in language and form. In no age but in that of Shakespeare did such streams of literary influence flow from a wide world bearing new tidings. Only, instead of the sonnet, the extravanza, the new comedy and tales and stories à la Decameron we have been having the free-verse patterns, satires, cosmopolitan themes, the new short story and sketches mainly Russian and lastly, the experimentations and influences of the new psychology. But poetic dramas like Stephen Spender's *Trial of a Judge* and Auden's *On the Frontier* have been flung out of the ferment of modern society and of warring nations; they sparkle with the multicoloured lights of the Age The renascence fervour is there and the urge for fresh forms. *The Ascent of F6* by Auden combines the elements of good story-telling with social satire, but it does also project a vision, the vision of ascending humanity. It is significant that so long as frustration was its main theme, free verse revolved on its own disc, moving but not moving forward and failing to raise a lasting structure. When the poets linked themselves up to a *belief*—when Eliot arrived at a cloistered, religious rootedness, or Auden and Spender came genuinely to the lives of the people, and effected a contact with them—they began producing poetic dramas. And the success of these plays, some of them not so easy or obvious, is significant. We have seen the eager attendance not of small highbrow coteries but of crowds of people, of bank-clerks and shop-girls, artists and artisans; a diverse public evidently found in these plays a moving experience, a transference of realities as they know them. Eliot's *Family Reunion*[1] drew great crowds. The poetic drama has come to its own. It has taken its place in the enduring heart of English literature.

[1] Rabindranath Tagore considered this play to be one of the finest achievements of modern literature.

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MODERN WAR POETRY

C. S. MILFORD, M.A. (OXON.)

THE latest book[1] of Spender's poetry contains a group of war poems, entitled "Ironies of War," which suggests as a starting point of discussion a comparison with the poetry produced by the last War. This falls into two classes—the patriotic verse of Rupert Brooke and others, and the poetry of disillusionment, represented by Owen and Sassoon. Theirs was the disillusionment of personal experience; they were so overwhelmed by the actual horrors and miseries of war that for the moment they looked no further:

> "I have my medals?—Discs to make eyes close.
> My glorious ribbons?—Ripped from my own back
> In scarlet shreds."
> "Happy are those who lose imagination:
> They have enough to carry with ammunition."

Owen died in 1918, and literally could see nothing beyond the War. Sassoon could look through the disillusionment to a world at peace again:

> "I see them in full dug-outs, gnawed by rats
> And in the ruined trenches, lashed with rain.
> Dreaming of things they did with balls and bats,
> And mocked by hopeless longing to regain
> Bank-holidays, and picture shows, and spats,
> And going to the office in the train."

And he foresees that in the future

> "Some ancient man with silver locks
> Will lift his weary face to say:
> 'War was a fiend who stopped our clocks,
> Although we met him grim and gay.'"

Spender is of a generation that was disillusioned long before the War began, and had a cynical ideology ready to meet the expected crash,

[1] Stephen Spender—*Ruins and Visions*.

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and this makes his mood of depression even deeper than that of the older poets, though he writes more as a spectator and not like them from the thick of the horror. In his "June 1940" we hear intelligent voices discussing the causes of the War:

"Yes, we see the dragon's teeth of the past
From a hungry childhood grown
Into avenging warriors at last."
"Indolent injustice for so long
Snoring over Germany, now is overthrown:
To face *us* with a still greater wrong."
But the voice of one who was young and died
In a great battle, in the light leaves sighed:—
"I lay down with a greater doubt:
That it was all wrong from the start:
Victory and defeat both the same,
Hollow masks worn by shame
Over the questions of the heart.
And there was many another name
Dividing the sun's light like a prism
With the rainbow colours of an 'ism.'
I lay down dead like a world alone
In a sky without faith or aim
And nothing to believe in,
Yet an endless empty need to atone."

This note of utter despair is sounded again and again:

Driven by intolerance and volted with lies,
We melt down the whirring bodies of boys
And their laughter distil
To plough mental hatred through the skies
And write with their burning eyes over cities
Sure no green summer joys,
Where everything stops but the wishes that kill.

This poem voices a despair which is too poignant to analyse or reason about; the poet's heart can only cry out against the waste and pain. In "The War God" the cause of strife is found in the entail of hatred:

The lost filled with lead
On the helpless field

May dream the pious reason
Of mercy, but also
Their eyes know what they did
In their own proud season,
Their dead teeth bite the earth
With semen of new hatred.

These poems reflect the mood felt by many in the early stages of the War, when the lingering hopes that the earlier struggle might not have been in vain finally crashed, and the uppermost feeling was "here it is all over again and presumably it will be the same in each generation."

Though the book was not published till 1942, the internal evidence of the war poems suggests that they were all written in 1940, and one wonders whether since then Spender has been able to feel that this war has come to have any connection with "The Struggle" which his group sung in Spain.

The war poems are part of the "Ruins," which indeed fill the larger part of the book. The "Ruins" also include a group of five elegies entitled "Deaths." The most striking of these, "The Fates," concerns a young man carefully brought and sheltered from all the hard realities of life, only to be killed in war at the end. This is reminiscent both in thought and in style of Eliot's *Family Reunion*, exposing the unreality of a conventional family and society life, though Spender does not like Eliot point a way through to reality:

Oh which are the actors, which the audience ?
The actors who simulate
Or those who are, who watch the actors
Prove to them there is no fate ?
Where then is the real performance
Which finally sweeps actors and audience
Into a black box at the end of the play ?
Both both, vowing the real is the unreal,
Are stared at by the silent stars.

But behind all these other Ruins stands the ruin of the poet's own happiness. The first group of lyrics, entitled "A Separation," tells of a personal tragedy. Spender is singing with a broken heart, and

this helps us to understand the unmitigated gloom of the rest of the poems:

Lightly, lightly from my sleep
She stole, our vows of dew to break,
Upon a day of melting rain
Another love to take:
Her happy happy perfidy
Was justified was justified
Since compulsive needs of sense
Clamour to be satisfied
And she was never one to miss
The plausible happiness
Of a new experience.

You must live through the time when everything hurts
When the space of the ripe, loaded afternoon
Expands to a landscape of white heat frozen,
And trees are weighed down with hearts of stone
And green stares back where you stand alone,
And the walking eyes throw flinty comments
And the words which carry most knives are the blind
Phrases searching to be kind.

The fourth section, "Visions," is slighter. These poems do not, as the title might suggest, state Spender's vision of a better world after the war. They are descriptions of scenes and moods, an old barn, a garden, a moment of love; and one, "The Coast," is an experiment in surrealism:

Where the tide furls back shallow finny waves,
My swearing mates in their blue dungarees
Stand on the endless mud-flats reaching back
To their unscrupulous births. The sea
Will swill away the tag-ends of their names
With cards, and all that harbours do forget.

Would not, to open any door
On to the star socketed in a skull,
Or through the domed night to the balanced scales,
Or following threads leading to faith
Sustained between two pairs of eyes:

Be false and frail as flowers
Crushed by iron machines of power?
Yet there are eyes which float upon the wreckage
Secretly clinging to a gleaming straw.

Much of the imagery here certainly suggests the surrealist painting and the same is true of some passages in " The Fates ":

. . . Those on the stage who rip open their ribs
Lift the lids from their skulls, tear the skin from their arms,
Revealing the secret corridors of dreams.

In some of the lyrics, especially in the first section, Spender has returned to a simpler and more graceful style. The quotation given above from the first poem, " Lightly lightly from my sleep," etc. illustrates this. Here is another instance:

But a girl to-day, dreaming
On her wave of time
With April clouds dawdling
Through the mirror of her eyes,
Lays down her book
And smiles and sighs
Lifting her empty head
Across the gulf of centuries.

Some critics will probably condemn such writing as merely " pretty," but it will help the appreciation of the verse by a larger circle of readers. The general public will also welcome the fact that there is nothing in this book of the " private " writing, with many allusions only to be understood by a select circle, which has been typical of some of the work of Spender's group.

An interesting poem is " The Air Raid Across the Bay," in which the new sights and sounds of modern war are brilliantly described in vivid imagery:

Searchlights probe the centre of the sky
Their ends fusing in cones of light
For brilliant instant held up
Then shattered like a cup.
They rub white rules through leaden dark,

Projecting tall phantom
Masts with swaying derricks
Above the sea's broad level decks
They slide triangles and parallels
Of experimental theorems,
Proving the hypothes is
Of death, on wasted surfaces
Of measureless blank distances.

This is surely " modern " poetry at its best.

Among minor points of interest one may note the use of dissonance, a device which has attracted many recent writers:

This ghost of a noise suggests a gust.

Till I drown, drawn down by my own mercy.

The undertones of war, and perhaps, too, the iron that has entered into the poet's own soul, are suggested by many phrases—" this iron war " , " The all-night-long screeching metal bird " , " The sacred standing corn brittle, and swaying with metallic clicks ", " iron aims ", " crushed by iron machines of power ".

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE FUTURE WORLD ORDER

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

RECENTLY the Acting Secretary-General to the League of Nations issued the Report on its work during the year 1941-42. This document together with his previous annual Report submitted in 1941 gives us a clear indication of the lines along which the League has been working since the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 and particularly since the debacle of France in the early summer of the following year.

In normal times the chief organs of the League, namely, the Council and the Assembly, met regularly and were responsible for drawing up the programme of its work and supervising the actions taken by the Secretariat. The technical committees similarly held regular sessions and gave directions as to the steps to be taken and the work to be performed. But since the outbreak of War three years ago the Council and the Assembly could meet only once and since the fall of France they could not meet at all. In consequence of this fact, the responsibility for conducting the League activities devolved solely upon the Secretary-General. Reference should, of course, be made in this connection to a Supervisory Commission which was first constituted in 1938 and which was invested with special powers in December, 1939. As its title signifies, it has to supervise and check as best it can the activities of the Secretary-General and his colleagues in the Secretariat. It should be observed in passing that M. Avenol, who had been Secretary-General to the League of Nations in succession to Sir Eric Drummond (Lord Perth), resigned this office in August, 1940 and Mr. Lester became the Acting Head of the League Secretariat.

Since the outbreak of hostilities and the collapse of France dispersion and curtailment of activities have characterised the life of the League. The technical services of the International Labour Organisation were transferred to Montreal and part of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League has been sent on mission to Princeton. As for activities, those of a political nature have automatically been suspended due to the exigencies of war while

those of a technical, intellectual and humanitarian character have also been reduced to a minimum. At one time the total membership of the League was 56 but at present 45 nations are affiliated to this organisation. The reduction in membership cannot, therefore, be said to have been considerable. But the income of the League was curtailed both by a number of members seceding from it as well as by the reduction in the contributions of those states which still remained associated with it. The fall in income had naturally to be followed by reduction in staff and other items of expenditure. In 1939 the budgeted amount was 32,234,012 Swiss francs but it was reduced from time to time until in 1942 it is 9,647,462. In other words, there has been a reduction of 70.07 per cent. The reduction of staff was begun in December, 1939. First, those whose services were not regarded as indispensable were asked to leave. Later, further reduction followed and ultimately by the end of the year 1940 the staff retained in the League service was only 22 per cent of its former strength.

The League thus maintains only a skeleton staff at Geneva and elsewhere, somehow to keep the organisation going. The lamp which was lighted in 1920 has not been put out altogether but it burns dim and very dim at that. Those who are doing their best to keep the League alive are convinced that in an atmosphere more salubrious its vitality which unhealthy conditions have undermined so much will revive and it will have a life of usefulness and service in the new dispensation which will follow the present turmoil in the world. We share this hope of the League workers. But lest this expectation should prove false, it is time to probe into the causes which made the League experiment such a dismal failure during the twenty years following the Treaty of Versailles and which made this organisation virtually a laughing-stock in the eyes of a large section of people in different parts of the world.

The League enthusiasts have not unoften emphasised rather too much the economic and humanitarian activities of this body and since the conquest of Manchuria by Japan have tried to associate the prestige of the League with its activities in these fields alone. But the success or failure of the League was never intended to be judged by such activities. The importance of these latter need not be minimised. It has in fact been acknowledged in all circles and during all the twenty-two years that the League has been in existence. But the League was intended essentially to be an organisation " to enforce

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peace" and the experiment was to be regarded as a success or a failure in the proportion that it fulfilled this ideal. International institutions for co-operative efforts and activities existed in limited spheres before the last War and they might grow in new directions after it. But such institutions and efforts would not have attracted the hundredth part of the attention that the League of Nations drew to itself. The League secured this hold on the imagination of the people only because of the ideal of international peace with which it was started.

It is not necessary to dive too deep into details of the origin of the League to prove that to stop all war in the future was the prime objective of its founders. The war which broke out in 1914 turned out to be so destructive in character that before it continued for three years many people in England, in the United States, in Holland and in the Scandinavian countries became convinced that the recurrence of such catastrophic outbreaks would mean the end of civilisation altogether. They became, therefore, determined to set up an international organisation which might make impossible the recurrence of such wars in the future. In Great Britain, it may be pointed out, the Government at first refused to take any notice of such ideas of international peace. But the insistence with which they were preached non-officially made Government response imperative. But even then it is not unlikely that when the war ended victoriously for the allies, they might have forgotten at the time of making peace all about an organisation which alone could make it permanent and real in the world. Possibly, they would have been elated too much with the triumph they had achieved and in their hour of exultation they would have failed to take the steps which more far-sighted people had advised in the hour of agony. But the League ideal had been accepted warmly and enthusiastically by President Wilson of the United States and he would not allow it to be relegated to mere miscellaneous items to be discussed by the allies. He kept it in fact in the forefront of allied discussion at Versailles, and the League of Nations came into existence in due course.

That the maintenance of peace in the world was the chief object of its existence is testified to by the seven articles (Articles XI to XVII) which were incorporated in the League Covenant. The Articles not only created the requisite machinery for the settlement of disputes between one country and another in a peaceful manner but

they provided also (Article XVI) for a recalcitrant state to be brought to book by the application of sanctions. It is unfortunate and even tragic that these Articles were not either put into operation, or put into operation only very half-heartedly, whenever a Great Power decided determinedly to become an aggressor. Various reasons may be assigned for the indifference which was shown in this respect. It is pointed out that the refusal of the United States Senate to approve of the Treaty of Versailles and the consequent dissociation of that great country from the League constituted an important cause of the League authority being undermined. The keeping of the Soviet Union at arm's length for years together after the conclusion of hostilities was also responsible for the weakness of the League. It has again been emphasised that the League was not a super-state, but only a union of sovereign nations, and as such the interests of the member-states guided the policy of this organisation. If it was a super-state, if it was the central government of a world federation, deriving its power and authority directly from the people of the world, it could have maintained peace and security of its own accord and out of its own interest. But deriving as it did its power and position from the Governments of the member-states and dependent as it was upon their decisions and even passing whims, it was by its very constitution a helpless and inept body, unfit for the exalted task of keeping the peace of the world.

But this is an argument which will not appear very convincing to many. The League organisation as the central government of a world federation would have been an ideal arrangement and a sure guardian of world peace. But the League as a league also might have succeeded in stopping aggression and maintaining international amity and concord, provided its members were only nation-states and not imperialist states as some of them were. As only nation-states they might have their differences and jealousies but these differences and jealousies would not be such as the machinery of peace provided by the League would not find it possible to settle and to remove. Actually, however, some of the member-states were great empires with vast material resources which other member-states wanted to share. The jealousies which they entertained towards one another and the differences which in consequence arose between them were so strong and so fundamental that they could be settled and removed only by an appeal to force.

The maintenance of an empire again involved the exercise of violence which its owner would find it sometimes very difficult to deny to another country, provided, of course, this latter state exercised this violence and committed this aggression not against the empire of the former. When Japan swooped down upon Manchuria and made it virtually a part of its empire, the British Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, did not think it politic to make British protest strong and effective. He rather made a speech at Geneva which was acclaimed by the Japanese delegate, Mr. Matsuoka, as explaining and even justifying the case of his country very clearly and succinctly. A British statesman even went to the length of pointing out that if the British public objected to Japan's aggression in Manchuria, it would find it difficult to justify its own record in India. As the latter record must be justified and British supremacy over India must be maintained, opposition to Japan's aggression must be whittled down. But one aggression begets another and as it came in succession, the prestige of the League as an organisation to maintain peace suffered irrevocably. Even then all was not possibly lost. By new efforts and new idealism on the part of the member-states, the League authority might have been revived. But this was not to be. The little of League's usefulness which still survived was destroyed altogether by the fascist sympathies which were openly and brazen-facedly shown not only by the prominent members of the League Council but by the Secretary-General, M. Avenol, and a good portion of his staff during the last phase of the Spanish Civil War. This attempt to transform the League organisation into an instrument of fascist aggression in Europe took the last breath out of this gasping institution. The League as it was originally conceived was thus killed.[1] A skeleton has been kept up no doubt but if it is to be transformed into an effective and useful institution, new life will have to be breathed into it.

That there is necessity for a world organisation after the conclusion of hostilities, appears to be admitted in all circles. But the mind of

[1] Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State of the United States, observed on July 22, 1941, that the League "failed in part because of the blind selfishness of men here in the United States, as well as in other parts of the world; it failed because of its utilisation by certain Powers primarily to advance their own political and commercial ambitions; but it failed chiefly because of the fact that it was forced to operate, by those who dominated its councils, as a means of maintaining the *status quo*. It was never enabled to operate as its chief spokesman had intended, as an elastic and impartial instrument in bringing about peaceful and equitable adjustments between nations as time and circumstances proved necessary."

most people is not clear as to the type of this organisation. There is a section which seems to be convinced that the League method is inadequate and if the world is to be saved from another devastating war, it is essential that a federation of the different countries with all its implications should be set up. The stimulus to this federal movement was supplied before the outbreak of the present War by the American journalist, C. K. Streit, by the publication of his book, *Union Now*. The title proved to be catchy and his discussion appealing. The book became popular. When the War broke out, it supplied inspiration even to people who were not so far thinking at all about the future organisation of the world. In Great Britain it stimulated the growth of a body called *Federal Union* under the auspices of which a symposium was published in 1940. Individual writers also published studies on their own account just by way of clarifying their own mind as well that of others in regard to this subject.

Unfortunately the federal unionists from Streit downwards have understood by a world federation the federation of those white countries only which they personally like. They have excluded from their scheme not only Asiatic countries like India, China, Japan, etc., which by themselves comprise half the population of the world but also the U.S.S.R., Germany and Italy. People who in their fond imagination place New Zealand with a population of two million settlers above India with her four hundred million ancient people or who attach greater importance to Australia with its six million souls than to China with five hundred million cannot be depended upon either for their fairness or for their judgment. They are still thinking in terms of the old world when a small group of white people with command over modern science could dominate far-flung Asiatic territories. In any event the schemes of world federation published so far are vitiated by narrowness of outlook and non-appreciation of essential facts and on this account none of them are entertainable. The difficulty with British publicists associated with the federal union movement is that while they want world peace and on that account advocate a world federation, they are unwilling to part with their empire. They simply forget that empire and peace can no longer go together. Mr. D. N. Pritt, himself a Britisher, has in his brochure, *Federal Illusion ?*, unmasked the hollowness of the schemes of federal union framed by his countrymen. He is of the sensible view that a mere federation, and that too comprising less than half the world, will be

not only productive of no good but will beget greater mischief than even an unorganised world. If peace is to be attained on a permanent basis, the present economic organisation must be transformed and the existing social system changed.

While in Great Britain a number of publicists have advocated limited federation in the name of world federation, in the United States discussion on this subject, though not yet much advanced, has been more straightforward. In the American *Political Science Review* (December, 1941) a writer after a careful analysis of the problem came to the conclusion that " A universal federation, in any approximate use of the term, is merely a distant dream." But, he adds, " this does not rule out a universal 'league.' " The Commission to study the Organisation of Peace which was set up under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and which worked under the leadership of Dr. James T. Shotwell has also come to the same conclusion in its preliminary report. It recognises the nation-state as the dominant unit of world society to-day and it does not think it feasible that people will cease to think in terms of this unit at once and accept world federation with alacrity. " The world must evolve from League to federation "; it cannot reach the latter stage in a single jump.

So it seems that the League ideal, though scorned so much at the present time, may have to be revived. But if it is to make for peace in the world, certain steps must be taken. First and foremost of these steps is the abolition of imperialism. We have emphasised already that this imperialism, both by itself and as a concomitant of capitalism, lies at the root of all wars and without its abolition war cannot be successfully banned. Secondly, the distinction which is maintained in the present League organisation between great and small powers must be done away with. The Great Powers have permanent representation in the League Council while the other powers do not enjoy this privilege. It is this domination of the League Council by the Great Powers which made this body an instrument of gaining selfish purposes on the part of these countries and made the experiment at Geneva such a nauseating farce. If the future world organisation is to be a success, the Great Powers must take their chance as much as the so-called small powers in the election of their delegates to the League Council. Thirdly, intellectual co-operation which it was the intention of the League to foster must take up greater attention and time of the League and must figure more prominently in the League budget.

Virtually speaking, apart from the establishment of a centre at Paris and holding from time to time some meetings of a small group of intellectuals of different countries, the League did nothing during the last two decades and more to bring about better and more cordial understanding between the different nations of the world. The method of aproach with regard to this subject was itself faulty. Such understanding might have been fostered better, if the responsibility was entrusted to the Information Section of the League instead of making it the sole concern of the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. The Information Section set up branch offices in some of the member-states. These branches were not adequate either in number or in regard to staff. But in any event there were skeletons of such branches in a few places. Persons in charge of these organisations were expected to supply the public with information about League activities. But such information in the face of colossal failures of the League in the most important of its responsibilities was treated with scant courtesy. These branches might have been more usefully employed, if they supplied factual information regarding other countries. In India, for instance, accurate information regarding political, constitutional and social developments in such countries as the United States of America, the U.S.S.R., France, Turkey, Iran, China and Japan would have been welcome. Similarly, India, as a member of the League, would have expected this body to supply other countries with accurate information about Indian traditions, Indian politics and administration, and Indian art and literature. These branches of the Information Section might have also helped in organising societies for cultural relations and might have co-operated with them wherever they existed already. It is a pity that nothing of this kind was done by the League in all these years. It is only expected that if this body is revived, it will take up this responsibility with greater earnestness and pave thereby the way for better international relations. Without such efforts in this field, the League will in fact become as huge a joke as it became in the decade previous to the present War.

Fourthly, it should be emphasised that the League had been too preoccupied with European affairs during the last two decades and paid little attention to problems of other parts of the world. India, for instance, has received hardly any return for the large financial contribution she has made so far to the League. Even in the attenuated budget of the League India's contribution is more than

nine lakhs of rupees per annum. But neither in employment nor in services this country receives any return worth the name. We know that the League has maintained for some years past an organisation for tackling the problem of refugees. But since the entry of Japan into the present War this problem has become acute in this country. What has the League done in this regard ? The answer is, nothing. Then again we find that the League had a Bureau of its Public Health Section at Singapore. With the fall of this city, the Bureau has been removed to Australia. Why could it not be removed to India, where both opportunity and necessity of investigation in such subjects as malaria are certainly greater ? If the League is to succeed in the future as an international institution and as an instrument of world peace and welfare, this preoccupation with and preference for white interests must be eliminated

INTELLECT AND INTUITION

A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN BERGSON

C. MITRA, M.A., B.T.

BOTH the West and the East have made definite contribution to the respective positions of intellect and intuition in the spheres of human life and activities. But as to their emphasis they differ. The Eastern lore is mainly for creative intuition, while the Western emphasis is on the critical intelligence. That is the most general and usual estimate. But though not altogether true, it is not all false. Indeed, beginning from the Socratic, emphasis on the 'Concepts' down to Russell's 'Mathematical Philosophy'—and passing through the whole range of others, *viz.*, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Neo-Platonists, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel and Neo-Hegelians, like Bradley and Bosanquet and specially the Realists and the Behaviorists—throughout the entire horizon we have in them a distinct leaning towards intellect. But it is also to be admitted that side by side they have made room for other sources of knowledge, *viz.*, intuition. And if they have not elaborately dwelt on the detailed discussion of Intuition they have at least sufficiently shown the adequate inadequacy of the logical and the intellectual.

Let us take the three typical ones of recent times, *viz.*, Bradley, Croce and Bergson. We have had in Bradley distinct utterances that intellect fails to grasp the Reality. Thought and discursive knowledge can never be identified with the Reality, which, for him, is the Absolute. Thought can approximate the Reality, but it will always fall short of it. The Absolute *is* never and *can* never be exhausted by the Intellect. The 'felt-whole' according to Bradley, is lost and is lost once for all. And it is a vain attempt on the part of intellect to restore it in its pristine glory. In 'Judgment,' which is the only function of intellect the 'that' and the 'what' are estranged and to go on further judging will be widening the gulf still wider. Croce tells us the same thing, and in making Art the foundation of the superstructure of all knowledge he virtually means that intuition is at the bottom of everything. His example of 'Sunset' has got an important meaning. What intellect does, and is at all capable

of doing, is to inform us of the ' conceptual notations ' of sunset and never the truth of what sunset is.

That the same intellect is inadequate to grasp the Reality Bergson makes explicit in his illustration of 'sleep.' Intellect, he tells us, can go on analysing ' sleep.' But so long it will tell us the nature, states, and qualities of ' sleep,' it will hopelessly lose ' sleep ' itself. To speak and judge ' sleep ' is not to have the ' sleep.' We can never tell what sleep itself *is* but what it is *about*.

If they are not sure to prescribe the real path and procedure of how an exact knowledge of the Reality can be had they are agreed on this point at least that intellect is not enough. For knowledge we need something else some other criterion which is autonomous and inherently valid.

Thus Intuition comes in—comes in as a saviour and a champion. It has its prerogative to realise truth in its inner essence and in its entire fund of richness. And every philosopher more or less, directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly has made provision for intuition in the sphere of our experience as the only authorised one to grasp Reality.

As to the nature of this intuitive knowledge the Indians have referred to the self-knowledge of the individual. It is self-valid knowledge and requires no further test for its validity. It is the knowledge of itself and the source of all others. But the most pertinent question that comes in in this connection is: Is Intuition knowledge? Can the two be equated? Can the one be called the other? The question depends on the answer to a further question: What is knowledge itself in its turn? If its criterion be transference, undoubtedly intuition is *not* knowledge. But, on the contrary, if exactness, certitude and non-communicability be the test and criterion of knowledge then surely intuition *is* knowledge. The further questions that are allied with it are: Is Intuition superior to Intellect? Is any one of them inferior to the other? What is the relation between the two? Is Intuition ' richer intelligence ' or no intelligence at all? The reply is: Intuition's superiority cannot be gainsaid. Intellect ends where intuition begins, but the line of demarcation cannot possibly be diagnosed. Their relation can only be described in the formula thus—

Intuition: *Intellect*: *Intellect*:: *Sense*.

But inspite of this, intellect's necessity in life cannot be over-estimated. And moving from intellect to intuition we do not move from reason

to not-reason, but to richer, deeper and greater reason. Thus in this respect too, if intellect serves as a stepping stone, not only we cannot get rid of it but it is an indispensable factor to be traversed to be acquainted with.

The next possible question is: Is intuition instinct? It is not an easy one to answer. The contention is that if intuition is at all identified with instinct, it is not the instinct that precedes intellect but that which follows it. If it be innocence it is the mature innocence of old age. It is the second childhood, so to say, regained or begotten that *follows* young age. It is innocence, but not ignorance. It is knowledge synoptic.

Intuition is the spirit in man—the presiding deity in human beings, as it were. "When it inspires the intellect we have genius, when it stirs the will we have heroism, when it moves the heart we have love, and when it captures the whole being the son of man becomes the son of God." Then the human breathes the life of the divine. Some have equated intuition with genius, some with wisdom. It was the 'nous' of Aristotle, the all-pervading intelligence of Dante. Leslie Stephen says "Intuition sees, while all other thing demonstrates." In the sphere of knowledge its presumption is unescapable. Because it can insure truth on its own authority. For, "truth is normal to the mind and error is an exception." (Bosanquet.) Artistic appreciation solely depends on intuition. Very aptly has it been said by Bergson that to know the exact meantig, the reality of a poem, we need badly the help of intuition and no amount of intellect. For, we might go on analysing the piece of poem and paraphrase it in the soundest possible ways, but no amount of labour in this line would give us the full meaning of it, unless and until we identify ourselves with it, *i.e.*, break the gulf between the subject (ourselves) and the object (the poem). In other words, to have a knowledge of the poem we are to go to the heart of the *poet* and not to the rhetoric and grammar of it. We are to have recourse to, take shelter in, intuition.

Artistic creation fundamentally depends on it. No Iliad, no Rāmāyana, were possible had not a Homer and a Valmiki been inspired by an Intuition. That a Milton, or a Shakespeare or a Kālidas or a Tagore is not made but *born* also testifies to this fact that no ideal literary production is possible without a touch of Intuition. It is sufficiently authentic that no society ever made a Leonardo-da-Vinci.

His was not an academical production nor was his painting a critical study in geometry and optics.

Thus it can very well be said that intuition is not merely a substitute for intellect but more truly a challenge to it. It has its profound bearing on moral and religious life also. For, the greatest ethical life is never a barren rehearsal of the maxims but an intuitive realisation of truths—truths that are of abiding interest beyond races and beyond climes. Life religious does not consist in any Sunday's prayer nor in the chanting of *mantras* nor in wearing a particular robe, but in loving and living. A person like a Christ, a Buddha or a Vivekananda has left a legacy of a greater religion than any amount of Church-goers, dogmas, rituals or ceremonies have left. Perhaps the same elemental stuff inspired a Plato and a Plotinus, an Aurobinda and a Dayananda. Theirs is a life not only truthful but beautiful beyond description.

As to the most cogent question: What is intuition itself? We may say that we know it, but we cannot explain it. It is more felt than seen. To be still impatient to have its further explanation and its detailed relation with intellect we must seek the help of Bergson, must have his verdict on this important topic.

Indeed, in recent times no greater service has been rendered to this direction by any one than by the late Prof. Henri Bergson. Undoubtedly he is too obscure and critical. But in impartial reverence to him, we can say that we cannot have a less obscure description of it anywhere. His view of intuition and its relation to intellect pervade the whole range of his writing. We should end our discussion by casting our glance on his contribution in this line. That would undoubtedly be a profitable enterprise.

For convenience' sake let us fancy that we are in face-to-face conversation with Bergson in close quarters. It should however be borne in mind that Bergson is very fond of similes. Two of the most ingenious ones are those of the 'cinematograph' and the 'symphony.' Others are those of the 'rocket' and the 'fountain.'

Without the least delay let us start talking. We ask M. Bergson, "What is your view on intellect and intuition?" Mr. Bergson answers, "Mind is cinematographic."

"We couldn't follow you."

"Mind is cinematographic, because it is kaleidoscopic."

"Well, Sir, can't you be more explicit?"

"Why not? Listen to me! The function of the cinematograph is to take snapshot views of a thing, but it cannot take the moving picture of a thing—the running picture of a regiment. So is the function of the mind as intellect."

At this we began to take photos of the college building from all directions, even from the air. Bergson interrupted and said, "Alas! what are you doing?"

"Well, we have almost finished. We should take one more photo."

"What to speak of one or a dozen? You may take a hundred possible photos, but no addition of them will give you an exact knowledge of the house—what it is in reality. It is too poor an attempt, too meagre a conception on the part of a photographer to have a true picture of a thing by taking snapshot views of it."

"Then, what is the way out? Is there no possibility of getting a real knowledge of this our favourite University building?"

"How? Think for yourself. When you are in the Philosophy class (room No. 1), your Economics class (room No. 2) is escaping your notice; when you are in the English class (room No. 3) your History class (room No. 4) is out of your sight; when you are on the second floor, the first floor is a sealed book to you."

"Then, what's the remedy?" we asked him most impertinently. But the Professor in his genial, loving and laughing manner told us: "By intuition you can have the knowledge of it."

"What is that?"

"Well, intellect is walking, and..."

"Walking!" we wondered.

"Don't get nervous. Intellect is walking and intuition is swimming. And the latter (swimming) is nothing but an extension of the former (walking)."

"Well Sir, be careful! We have amongst us a few who distinguished themselves in walking at the last annual sports."

"Never mind, you might distinguish yourself in a Hundred Yards' Walk, secure trophies in 'One Mile Race.' But no amount of knowledge in walking or running would give you an exact knowledge of what swimming is. This swimming is Intuition."

Here we stopped arguing shifted the topic and asked: "Well Sir, is it a fact that your 'Creative Evolution' which has got so wide a publicity in your country and abroad is a monumental work?"

"No. People say so. But I do not think so. I have begun to write and it happened to cover a few hundred pages ; but it is nothing more than a prelude, a stepping stone to what I have and am still to say.

"What is its upshot ?"

"I have voiced there a single and and a simple thing. It is the view of life and its activities. I have made there explicitly clear that evolution is neither mechanical nor teleological, but creative. Had it been teleological—mere carrying out of a plan, then world-process would have come to an end long before. At least we could think of a collapse of the historical process. Indeed, teleology is nothing but an inverted mechanism. It is a mere substitute of words a—*push* (attraction) for a pull (impulsion)—and not a substantially different doctrine."

"We understand this much. Yours is a philosophy of life ; life is creative. Everything is new, absolutely novel from what it was before. What next ?"

"It will be too difficult for you and too preposterous for me to po.it more and proceed further. Mine is a philosophy of life. It is creative, it is pure duration, it is a flow and a flux—an '*élan vital* '."

"Excuse our audacity, Sir. Is your *élan vital* something different from the 'holistic' principle of General Smuts or the emergent of Morgan and Alexander?"

"It is very difficult to answer all these queries. In fact, my theory does not bear any comparison. I am not prepared to submit to any other principle than mine own so long I am faithful to the correct reading of life."

We shook hands and bade him good-bye.

* * *

We retired to our home. In our pensive mood, solitary and isolated moment we asked ourselves: "Is he a failure?" We got the answer from within: "Yes a failure ! But only because we cannot have a better success anywhere."

Bergson tells us elsewhere that there are some truths which intellect strives to, but can never, grasp. On the other hand, these truths can only be had by instinct (or intuition) but it won't strive to have these. It amounts to this: where there is any possibility of knowledge there is no striving; and where there is a striving there

is no knowledge. We again ask: "Does it not land us in a mental torpor, a despair? Is it not a restlessness?"

"Yes, restlessness, but only because we cannot have less restlessness anywhere."

Thus we conclude. If Bergson's is a failure, we cannot have a better success. To the true reading of life—life as a moving onrush, a 'going' concern, life as a continual duration, a flow and a flux, an *élan vital* and a creative faculty – life as a pull from without and a push from within—his is the soundest exposition. And his suggestion of an explanation through intuition—a stage beyond mind and the mental—is a rich contribution, a landmark in the whole arena of philosophical thoughts, both in our own day and in the days bygone.

A question has been raised finally: what is the respective position of Bergson and Śaṇkara in this connection? The answer, in my opinion, can be given in a single sentence. While Śaṇkara's is a negation and an explanation of Life, Bergson's though not an adequate explanation, is at least an admission of Life. In other words, while Śaṇkara has negated life and not explained it, Bergson though has not exhaustively explained life, has at least admitted it and attempted to give an explanation thereby. To answer as to its further 'why' carries us beyond the range of this paper.

WAR OF SUCCESSION IN INDORE—1797

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Imperial Record Department

THE War of succession (1797) among the sons of Tukoji Holkar was neither unexpected nor unforeseen. As early as 1795 Mr. J. Uhthoff, Assistant to the Resident at Poona, wrote to the Governor-General, " The affairs of Holkar family have been long under the management of Tukojee and Aleabyhe, who are both advanced in age. It is expected that on their death or perhaps on the death of one of them there will be a competition between Kassi Row and Malhar Row, his younger brother. . . . The Peshwa and Dawlut Row Sindea will probably aggrandise themselves on the ruins of the Holkar family." [1]

Tukoji Holkar left two legitimate sons, the eldest Kashi Rao and younger Malhar Rao, and two natural sons by a concubine, Yasovant Rao and Vithoji. After Tukoji's death, the main contestants for the Holkar State were Kashi Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar, the latter being supported by the two illegitimate brothers who, however, played only a minor role. Kashi Rao's claims as the eldest son of his father were naturally stronger and had been further strengthened by his formal nomination as heir-apparent during Tukoji's life-time. Not content with merely transferring the succession to his eldest son, Tukoji, apprehending the designs of his younger son, had the former's claim to succession ratified by obtaining the tacit assent of Baji Rao II, Nana Farnavis and Daulat Rao Sindia. But from the very beginning Malhar Rao was adamant in his demand of half share in the *masnad* and he refused to submit to his elder brother. He raised an army, plundered and took possession of many hereditary lands of the Holkar family. " Though the former (Kashi Rao Holkar) is the elder brother and was invested with the succession to the chiefship by his father with at least the tacit assent of Bajy Rao, Nana Furnavis and Daulat Rao Sindia, yet Malhar Rao would not submit to conduct himself as was becoming his situation as second of the Holkar chiefship."[2] But though such an enmity existed between the two brothers, Tukoji left no stone unturned to effect a reconciliation between them. On the day before

[1] Pol. Progs. Cons., 4th September, 1795.
[2] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. VI, Lt. No. 25.

his death he even attempted to effect a compromise and called his two sons to his death bed. A reconciliation took place, but to last for a few hours only. "An ostensible reconciliation took place between them at the feet of the dying father on the 14th instant, but dissensions immediately ensued on the point of the funeral ceremonies. . . ." (Mr. Uhthoff's letter to G. G., dated 20th August, 1797). [1]

The death of Tukoji on 15th August, 1797, supplied the spark to the already smouldering dissensions in the Holkar family. Kashi Rao and Malhar Rao were men of ordinary merit and there was nothing very praiseworthy in them. The former was a man of weak intellect and was devoid of any military gift.[2] The latter, although intellectually not very sharp, possessed some military virtues. As Kashi Rao had himself little military capacity he wanted to destroy his rival with the help of Daulat Rao Sindia. At this time the politi al leaders like Sindia and Nana Farnavis were ready to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the decadent Holkar State. Avarice, personal hatred and fear of each other's domination over the Poona Government—all these led them to become allies of the contestants. Thus when Bapu Holkar, Kashi Rao's cousin,[3] opened negotiation with the Sindian Darbar, Daulat Rao Sindia thought it a golden opportunity to be explored for his own gain. On the 16th September, 1797, Mr. J. Uhthoff wrote to the Governor-General, analysing the motives of Sindia, "It is, however, conjectured that avarice has not been the sole principle of action with the Sindian party, but that jealousy also has had some share therein, for though Malhar Rao was neither a very great nor very good character yet he possessed some military virtues which might possibly have proved prejudicial to the Sindia party. For however great an ascendancy the Sindia chief has of late years acquired over that of Holkar, the latter was formerly prominent in the Maratha empire, which Tukojee (who died only last month) even affected to retain. . . ." [4]

Nana Farnavis, on the other hand, was secretly watching the growing power of Sindia over the Poona political affairs, since Mahadji Sindia's coming to Poona in 1792. Moreover, his fear of the loss of political power was doubly intensified by the Peshwa's support of Daulat Rao Sindia. Accordingly, he took the side of Malhar Rao

[1] Pol. Progs. Con., 18th September, 1797. [2] Grant-Duff, Vol. 3, p. 148.
[3] Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. VI, Lt. 25.
[4] Pol. Progs. Cons., 20th October, 1797.

Holkar and tried secretly to advance his cause. Along with Nana, Malhar Rao's cause was also supported by the wives of Mahadji Sindia. Daulat Rao Sindia had promised at the death-bed of Mahadji Sindia that he would pay a handsome allowance to his widows, befitting their position. But owing to vast military expenses, the allowance was cut down, and since that time the ladies bore an inveterate enmity towards Daulat Rao. So the ladies joined Nana's block against Sindia.

Thus each contestant was supported by the great political leaders of the time and hostilities began in right earnest. Some preparation for the coming storm was made in both the camps. The main intention of Sindian party was to seize Malhar Rao Holkar at the instigation of Kashi Rao Holkar. During the night of 9th September, 1797, Daulat Rao Sindia issued orders to his troops to be under arms and to prepare for marching, which were immediately obeyed but subsequently countermanded.

When the hostilities were moving to a climax, an attempt was made by Nana and his partisans, on 11th August, to seek the British East India Company's mediation in effecting a reconciliation between the brothers. But this attempt was frustrated by the obstacles introduced by intermediate agents of both the Sindia's and Holkar's Darbars, and the subsequent reluctance of the Hon'ble Company to interfere in this war of succession. On 12th September, 1797, Mr. Uhthoff wrote to the Governor General, " You may be assured, Honourable Sir, that I shall avoid involving you in any responsibility or the embarrassment in the affair, though, indeed, it seems favourable that no further progress may be made therein. For it is to be expected that neither Baji Rao, Nana, Dawlut Roo would readily waive their authority in this case in favour of the Company's mediation, particularly as the dissension between the brothers afforded a flattering prospect of pecuniary advantages to those three personages."[1] In a letter, dated the 6th October, 1797, the Governor-General concurred with the same view of J. Uhthoff regarding the supposed non-compliance of Nana, Baji Rao and Dawlat Rao Sindia with the Company's mediation, even if granted.[2]

In the early morning of 14th September, 1797, Daulat Rao Sindia, accompanied by a large number of troops, on the pretext of a hunting excursion,[3] suddenly attacked Malhar's camp. The latter was quite

[1] Pol. Progs. Cons., 9th October, 1797. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Pol. Progs. Cons., 20th October, 1797 (information supplied by Ganapat Rao, Col. Palmer's agent with Sindia).

unprepared for this treachery. No resistance was practically offered. Some of the followers of Malhar were killed and some wounded. The camp was completely plundered. Malhar Rao himself was one of the killed. In this scuffle of the 14th September, Yasovant Rao, who sided with Malhar, received some wounds and managed to effect his escape from Poona, and he went to Nagpur where he found himself a prisoner. His younger brother Vithoji remained at Poona. Malhar Rao's father-in-law and brother-in-law also received some wounds and sought protection in the Residency.

It is said that Kashi Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindia did not want to kill Malhar but only to keep him under restraint, and when the latter was killed in the action of the 14th September, both of them became very much afflicted. Whatever might have been the motive of the Sindian party, Daulat Rao's extremities, excited by Kashi Rao against Malhar, were by no means calculated for such a purpose. The attack on Malhar was a premeditated plan and so also his death. Even the Resident at Poona succeeded in getting some inkling about the designs of the Sindian party. He wrote on the 16th September, 1797, ". . . though both Daulat Rao and Kashi Rao pretended much affliction at the death of Malhar Rao, their intention having been as they profess only to secure his person, and keep him under restraint till some settlement could be effected, yet it is evident that the measures taken on the occasion were by no means calculated for such a purpose."

Thus closes the fratricidal war of 1797. Its effects at home and abroad were quite obvious. As a result of the war, the sceptre of the Indore State fell into the weak hand of Kashi Rao Holkar. The assistance given by Daulat Rao Sindia to this weakling inevitably made the house of Holkar subservient to that of Sindia. Not content with this, Sindia for his own advantage imprisoned Khande Rao, the infant son of Malhar Rao. On the other hand, the war of succession was a death blow to the power and prestige of Nana Farnavis and Baji Rao. Having failed in establishing his client Malhar on the *masnad*, Nana offered a good opportunity to Sindia to become very powerful and dominant at Poona, and even Baji Rao, for want of foresight, did not at first resent this domination. But when Baji Rao gradually realised the danger from Sindia, as the subsequent history shows, he conspired to bring about his ruin. But it was too late.

EDUCATION IN ENGLAND IN WAR TIME

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I think it was Lord Bryce who said of the Holy Roman Empire that it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. I have also a feeling whether the title of this paper might not come in for criticism somewhat in the same lines. So I must disabuse the mind of my readers at the very outset, of any false expectations raised by the title. What I propose to do in course of this article is not to attempt a discussion of the complex problem of education in England in war time up to date, in all its aspects, but to narrate from my limited experience how the problem of education was tackled in that country in the abnormal situation brought about by the War. My experience covers only a small period—about nine months and a half towards the beginning of the war, and that is also confined to London and Cambridge where I spent this period and to such second hand information as I gathered from other people and from newspapers and periodicals.

It is a striking feature of this total war which is only too evident to need emphasis that it affects almost equally belligerents and neutrals, the life of combatants and non-combatants in even the minutest details. It brings in its train with a surprising suddenness a complete revolution in the ways of life of the people Being in London on that fateful day the 3rd of September, 1939—I had occasion to witness this revolution. Of course, it was not altogether unanticipated. Elaborate preparations had been made and schemes were ready, only to be put into action in the event of war being declared. It is hardly to be expected that education of young people should escape the effects of such a general convulsion.

The problem of education in war time is so closely linked up with that of evacuation that one can hardly be separated from the other, and both of them arose from the prospect of mass air-bombing in coastal towns, such industrial areas particularly as contained arms and ammunition factories and important cities like London, Edinburgh, etc. It was apprehended that as soon as war was declared these places

would become targets for relentless bombing at the hands of the *Luftwaffe*, to break the morale of the civil population. The apprehension has not proved altogether unfounded, although the time-table was a little upset.

There were two distinct ideas behind the plan of evacuation,—(1) consideration of safety for those who are not quite able to take care of themselves and would therefore prove a source of additional embarrassment to the civil defence authorities in an emergency, and (2) reduction of avoidable congestion to a minimum with a view to relieving the pressure on local authorities whose resources were expected to be overstrained by the requirement of providing for the needs of the civil population under the abnormal conditions and the dislocation caused by mass air bombing and also to giving a more free hand to the Defence services. Schemes were prepared for removing certain classes of population from these areas which were exposed to air attacks to rural areas and provincial towns which were expected to be comparatively free from the scourge. The former came to be known as evacuation areas and the latter as reception areas. The classes of population were called the priority classes.

These comprehended mainly the following categories,—(*a*) school parties with children of school-going age of different age groups, (*b*) mothers and children under five, (*c*) the blind with their guides, (*d*) expectant mothers (*e*) cripples, invalids, etc. These, of course, do not include lots of other evacuees, who did not come within this general scheme of evacuation promoted by Government in collaboration with local authorities. For instance, various Government Departments with their staff evacuated to various places in the country commandeering hotels, private buildings, etc., for the purpose, while others were waiting for their turn to come, perhaps as soon as the raids would be on, with all arrangement for evacuation completed. I was told by some Civil Servants at the India Office and also the India House (Office of the High Commissioner for India) that they had been asked to keep themselves in readiness for evacuation, unaccompanied by their families, to somewhere in the country at any moment. They had been, I was told, even given some tokens which they were to produce at the place where they would report themselves and they would be conveyed to their destination.

The certain mercantile offices also with their staff evacuated to the provincial towns. Then there were many private or semi-public

institutions like universities and colleges which made their own schemes and arrangements, of course, with the collaboration and aid of the Government and the authorities of the institutions with whom they linked up in many cases. As we are here mainly concerned with the problem of education rather than evacuation, we shall leave the question of evacuation here, with all the difficulties and complications that arose in the process. So we shall be left mainly with the first category of the priority classes of evacuees cited above and the universities and colleges.

As for the school parties, they were divided into two broad categories—very small children in the elementary schools and the boys and girls in the secondary or technical schools. It should be noted that many parents had already sent away their children into the country by some private arrangement with friends or relatives, as regards billets and schooling ; but such parents were comparatively few in number. For the majority of the parents it was a choice between availing themselves of the opportunities offered by the plan of evacuation with the school parties or keeping the children with themselves with all the attendant risks if the apprehended emergency came. During the crisis period preceding England's entry into the war I found brisk preparations going on for the registration of children and the arrangements in connection with their evacuation, particularly as regards their billeting and schooling in the reception areas.

Broadcast appeals and appeals through the newspapers were often addressed to the mothers unwilling to part with their children for inducing them to register their children while there was time, in the interest of their darlings themselves. The response was poor at the beginning but as the crisis became more acute every day the pace of the registration also quickened. But even so, the figures of the children registered for evacuation hardly came up to the expectations of those who made the plans. Not even fifty per cent of the parents availed themselves of the opportunities. The result was duplication and waste. If all the children evacuated, the School establishments in the evacuation areas might simply be removed to the reception areas, but as it was, it imposed upon the authorities in the evacuation areas an additional burden to provide for the education of the children left behind under the abnormal conditions of war. Many of the schools had to shut down, others had not sufficient numbers to make it worth while to run an establishment. I have heard that in some such areas, instead

of imparting education to these children through schools, an individual system of teaching was resorted to, that is, children were made to congregrate in convenient homes and individual teachers visited them at appointed times, setting them tasks as home lessons, the children being mainly thrown on their resources to prepare them. But a very large proportion of such children, held back in evacuation areas, had their schooling interrupted and went wild. It gave rise to a lot of discussion in the press and the platform in England in those days.

As regards the children registered for evacuation, as soon as the war broke out the scheme which was ready was put into effect. Parents were asked to fit out their children and send them to the school at an appointed hour, where different parties would be formed, each in charge of one or two teachers, and would then be drafted to the country through conveyances arranged by the authorities. It was indeed a piteous sight, during the first few days of the commencement of the war, to look on these parties of kiddies, with their kit-bags and gas-masks swung round their shoulders, tramping, in a file, the pavements of London streets, bound for unknown destination, before the very eyes of broken-hearted parents! But I heard people saying, "After all, there is this consolation that our children would be safe!"

In reception areas schooling for these evacuee children was mostly arranged by the 'Double Shift' system under which the children of the locality attended for half the day and the evacuees for the other half. But this was successful mainly in the case of older boys in the secondary and technical schools, most of whom forming each school unit evacuated; so that it was possible to link it up with a similar school out in the country. But in the case of elementary school children where only a small proportion of the total number of each school in the evacuation areas came, the method was not feasible and they had to be pooled with children of other schools either from evacuation areas or in the reception areas to form school units. In such cases the system did not work so smoothly and successfully as in the other. Some of the smaller children were accommodated in the nursery schools in the country.

Generally it was found that the experiment was successful only in the case of the comparatively older boys at the secondary stage and children placed in the nursery schools. They adjusted themselves readily to the new environment and were quite happy. The elder boys fully utilised the opportunities offered in the rural areas for more

open air activities and there was a marked improvement of health among them. I have myself seen, while in Cambridge, troops of these evacuee children merrily running about in the commons, climbing trees, robbing the orchards, swimming in the pools and doing little pieces of mischief. They completely allied themselves with the local children, whether at school or outside. But generally speaking, the younger children in the elementary schools who had left their parents were not so happy, because they could not adjust themselves to the new surroundings so readily and felt homesick. They often became a source of embarrassment to their hostesses. Sometimes such maladjustments have been not uncommon in the case of older children too. That was one of the principal causes of the large-scale drift back to the towns within a few months of the beginning of the war. It has been computed that by February, 1940, about sixty per cent of mothers and children evacuated, came back, inspite of the repeated warnings of the Ministers of Civil Defence, Health, and Education, because the apprehended air raids did not come. Apart from the risk involved, this drift-back placed an additional burden on the education authorities in the evacuation areas. Many of the children went without schooling. The problem gave rise to much discussion at the time in Parliament and in the press.

To come now to the institutions of higher education—the colleges and the universities. Here I can speak only from the experience of my own institution, *viz.*, the London School of Economics and Political Science. I do not know much about others. To my knowledge, the evacuation of institutions of higher education was confined to the London area, and even here the institutions given to technical education, like Engineering, Medicine, Chemical research, etc., did not perhaps all evacuate. I know, for instance, that the Imperial Institute of Science carried on all the time in London. So far as I know, universities and colleges in evacuation areas like Manchester, Liverpool, etc., did not evacuate. Of course, the activities of all such institutions, whether evacuated or not, had to be considerably restricted under the stress of the war.

In the first place, many of the teachers were called away either on active service or as technical advisers in connection with war or to serve in Government Departments. In the second place, with the introduction of military conscription, a large number of the student population were at once called up and many were on the

waiting list, having already registered and waiting for their call-up. During the few months of war that I was at the London School, I found many familiar faces disappearing and the classes shrinking in size. It was but natural that the institutions were very seriously affected by the war not only as regards finances but in their academic and corporate side as well. I am not aware how the finances of our School or other similar institutions were adjusted under war conditions. Of course there was a huge reduction in establishment, but even allowing for that the evacuation, and the carrying on under the abnormal conditions of the war must have placed a terrific strain on their finances and I am sure, the Government must have come to their rescue. But if the strain on the institutions was severe it was no less so on the students. That will be apparent if I describe the conditions under which the institutions, particularly those evacuated from London worked.

Different institutions under the University of London migrated to different places. For instance, our School and the London School of Oriental Studies evacuated to Cambridge, the King's College to Bristol, the University College to Aberystwyth (Wales), the University Offices to Engelfields (Surrey) and so on. The schemes of evacuation were completed some time before the war began. As we learned later from the Director of our School Mr. Carr Saunders, these were drawn up at the instance of the Government. We were told that it was at first proposed to send our School to an out-of-the-way place in the north and it was after great difficulty that the authorities of the School could come to an arrangement with the authorities of the Cambridge University in the matter. The war came during the Long Vacation, but the crisis came earlier. So we were all informed before the vacation about the scheme of evacuation to Cambridge in the event of the declaration of national emergency. We were asked in such an event to report ourselves on the reopening day after the vacation to New Court, Peter House College, Cambridge, with which our School was linked up ; because it might not be possible to inform students individually.

With the declaration of war began a general exodus of people from London, like the one from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in December last, apart from evacuation of school parties of children and troop movement. The atmosphere was tense with unknown fear of a general devastation. In buses, trains, street corners, shops,

restaurants and parks knots of people were indulging in all sorts of speculation as to the probable time when the raids might start. We had already the experience of two or three 'alerts,' not followed up fortunately by any actual raid, but we were all thinking anything might happen any moment and preparing for leaving London at the earliest opportunity. We waited about a week, for the congestion in outward bound traffic to abate a little and then started for Cambridge. The first problem in Cambridge was to find a billet. I had written to a friend of mine of our School who had already gone there, to make some enquiries about rooms. He received me at the station and told me that it was a very difficult problem to find suitable rooms in Cambridge, as it was full up with evacuees of all sorts. However after looking up some places he had selected I fixed up with a landlady. The next day I reported at Peterhouse and got into touch with the Dean of Post-graduate studies of our school.

Two houses had been rented by our School, one mainly for classes and another for offices. The Dean told me that negotiations were still going on with the authorities of the Cambridge University as regards the detailed arrangements for teaching, library facilities, discipline, etc. I was told that permits for the use of the University Library would be issued to us without avoidable delay. So we were in enforced idleness for some days which we utilised in familiarising ourselves with the place and its ways. There were still two or three weeks left of the vacation. That time was utilised in working out the detailed arrangements. We, the post-graduate research students, got our Library-cards a few days even before the re-opening of the colleges and resumed our work. In Cambridge apart from the Central University Library which is the biggest, there were some small Departmental Libraries, *e.g.*, the Marshall Library for Economics, the Seely Library for Political Science, another for Law and so on. All the students of the School were given permission to use the University Library, but the Post Graduate Research students were given permission besides, to use another Departmental Library according to their subject of research. If they wanted access to any other Departmental Library on a particular occasion they could get it by special arrangement through the Dean of Post-Graduate studies of the School. Admission to the Departmental Libraries was restricted to avoid needless congestion, in view of their small accommodation. The School had brought down from London a small section of their big Library, which was

but a skeleton of the original, consisting mainly of text-books meant for the undergraduates and so of very little use for the post-graduates. The Library along with the buildings of the School in London were commandeered by the Ministry of Economic Warfare with the declaration of war according to prearranged plan.

As for the classes, some of the lectures were arranged by the pooling of the staff of London and Cambridge, these being open to students of the School and the Cambridge Colleges. These were very big classes and accommodated mainly in the rooms of Mill Lane House and the Divinity School. The smaller classes of the School were held in Grove Lodge, the house rented by the School, and those of the colleges in their respective buildings. Post-graduate research work was affected very adversely, particularly in scientific and technical subjects, for the lack or inconvenience of supervision. Because specialists in many fields were called away on war services. We were fortunate in escaping such a contigency, but even in our case contact with the supervising Professor became very difficult. Most of the Professors lived elsewhere and came only one or two days in the week when they had lectures and rushed off after giving lectures. To meet the supervisor for any discussion we had to make appointments sufficiently early by correspondence. Some had to change supervisors and some had even to abandon their subjects for want of a suitable supervisor.

As for the social and corporate side of the School, it also suffered much in the new conditions. Many of the numerous societies of the School had to close down for want of adequate membership and also accommodation. The refectory of the School which was a centre of social life, offering opportunities for daily contacts among the students and which pulsated with life at the lunch hour had of necessity to disappear. Dances were improvised and study circles or discussion groups were held in class rooms in the evenings or on holidays. The Research Students' Association continued, with such of the Research students as were left, to hold its meetings every Thursday evening with the accompaniment of tea which we subscribed for on the spot. The Secretary and the President usually selected the Speaker and the subject of discussion. Sometimes we had Cambridge dons as our speakers. After the paper was read, it was thrown open for discussion by members. Apart from these lively discussions the Association provided a common meeting-place for all the research students of the

School working on different subjects. Then there were many societies in Cambridge, for instance, the Marshall Society for discussions of topics on Economics, which invited us to become members. Sometimes lectures were organised on current topics by distinguished scholars such as Mr. J. M. Keynes, Prof. E. Barker, Mr. Maurice Dobb, Prof. Laski, Prof. Robbins and others. All these gave us opportunities of coming into contact with Cambridge students. Cambridge being a very small place as compared with London, London students had greater opportunities of closer and more intimate contact with each other than were possible in London. This practically brings to an end my account, based on my personal experience, of how educational activities were carried on in our School under the improvised conditions of the war. The conditions were perhaps more or less the same with the other institutions which evacuated to other places.

Education, at all the stages, was undoubtedly hampered, being carried on under great difficulties and handicaps arising from the general dislocation incidental to war, but the arrangements that were made in England to meet the situation were on the whole satisfactory and were perhaps all that could be done in the circumstances. There is a close analogy between the crisis in England during which the schemes for carrying on education were elaborated and the crisis facing our country at the present moment. The authorities here should do well to profit by the experience of England in this respect and put the schemes worked there into operation, with suitable modifications in keeping with the peculiar conditions of this country.

NATIONAL PLANNING AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

MANILAL BANERJEE

THE lately renewed interest of national leaders in an enduring revival of world trade (after the war) has increased the importance of discussion about the influence of national economic policies on the exchange of goods between nations. For well-known reasons the central control of the economic life of the separate nations of the world is likely to increase, the nature and volume of trade between nations will be importantly affected as a result of the central planning of economic life within each national area. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the various effects of the usual forms of national economic planning on international commerce. Keynes's suggestion that nations should learn to provide themselves with full employment by their domestic policies before beginning to exchange their products has been left out of the present analysis. It is hoped that the Keynesian plan of world trade urging comprehensive social control over the economic life of each nation in order that international trade may properly become a willing and unimpeded exchange of goods and services in conditions of mutual advantages will be usefully discussed by economic thinkers interested in the future course of world trade.

1. A very common form of national economic planning is the interstate planning of commerce under bilateral agreements.[1] This implies that in return for concessions as regards its own trade each party to the agreement grants concessions to the others. The idea that in order to secure a satisfactory general balance of trade it is necessary to work upon the balance with particular countries influenced thought and practice during the mercantilist era. But as trade developed and insight into its ramifications became more general such concern with particular balances became more and more exceptional. "The great trader purchased his goods where they were cheapest and best" and by the middle of the nineteenth century agreements whereby any reduction in obstacles to trade made to one nation were automatically extended to all others become customary.

[1] In the following discussion materials contained in Prof. Robbins's well-known book *National Planning and International Trade* have been freely made use of.

But the recent resort to quantitative regulation of trade involves almost inevitably a reversion to bilateralism. The allotment of quotas involves separate bargaining with different sources of imports. Arrangements to clear debts to a particular country against debts from that country involve stringent measures to bring the trade relationship concerned into some sort of equilibrium if the clearing is not to break down.

To those who seek a theoretical foundation for bilateral trade it is pleasant to contemplate that bilateralism is in a sense the real beginning of international trade, as two nations as separate bargaining units are the traders here as opposed to individual citizens as hitherto. They do not notice how bilateral agreement, "the desperate expedient of economic nationalism in difficulties," involves certain contradiction in idea. If it is true that in equilibrium payments between any group of individuals and the rest of the world must exactly balance it does not in the least follow that there must be equilibrium in this sense between the debts and the claims of the inhabitants of any two groups taken separately. "If trade were thus naturally bilateral, then money would be unnecessary."

It should be noted that nations in their attempts to force international trade into bilateral channels sacrifice much potential wealth for a return to international barter. Such transactions necessarily restrict international division of labour to those limits which are set by the coincidence of international wants.

Even assuring that international division of labour making for minimum costs happened to produce equality of bilateral balances, rare minerals may suddenly be discovered (say) in Liberia.[1] For "equilibrium" to be maintained expansion of demand for this product in each country should be accompanied by an exactly parallel expansion of demand for products of these countries in Liberia. As if the lawyer before buying more from the fruiterer should first ascertain that the tradesman is likely to increase his demand for litigation. If there was a strong British demand for the Liberian mineral but if the Liberian demand for British products did not expand *pari passu* with the British, then import from Liberia into Britain would be restricted. The Liberian output of different commodities would be prevented from expanding so far as would otherwise be profitable.

[1] This illustration is used by Professor Robbins

The British consumer would have to go unsatisfied. The people elsewhere who would willingly have taken more of British products but whose own products were more acceptable to Liberia would be out of it altogether. "At any moment the magnitude of desirable change may be so small that the prevention of other than bilateral expansion may seem a very minor evil. But in the long run it is just these small changes which amount to those big changes which we recognise as economic progress."

In the decade just preceding this war the stimulation of bilaterally balanced trade by preferential treatment of certain countries having close economic ties resulted in trade becoming progressively regional. There have been other reinforcing factors. The depression of economic activity during the post-1929 slump (and more recently by considerations of political strategy and national defence) led to methods of commercial protection and regulation disintegrating world export markets. This is well illustrated by the tendency to form more or less clearly defined "economic blocs" of countries with which the principal trading nations have specially close economic or political ties.

Trade with "Economic Blocs" as a Percentage of Total Trade of Certain Countries

Country	Economic Bloc	Imports from Economic Bloc as percentage of country's total imports.				Exports to Economic Bloc as percentage of country's total exports.			
		1929	1932	1935	1938	1929	1932	1935	1938
The United Kingdom	British Commonwealth, Colonies, protectorates, etc.	30·2	36·4	39·0	41·9	44·4	45·4	47·6	49·9
	Other countries of the Sterling Bloc	12	×	×	13	7	×	×	12
France	French Colonies, protectorates and mandated territories	12·0	20·9	25·8	27·1	18·8	31·5	31·6	27·5
Germany	6 countries of South-Eastern Europe	4·5	5·5	10·1	12·0	5·0	3·9	7·7	13·2
	Latin America	12·2	11·2	14·5	15·6	7·8	4·3	9·5	11·5

In previous years the debts due by their empires to such creditor countries as the United Kingdom and France were paid in large part indirectly through the export of colonial products to third countries, such as Germany, which in turn exported surpluses of their manufactured products to the creditor countries. Since 1929 the creditor countries have increased their import surpluses from other countries. This represents a closer bilateral balancing of transactions since debtor countries have recently been paying their debts by a surplus of their exports to creditor countries ; debtor countries find that the market for their specialised primary products are more restricted.

Excess of Imports (−) or of Exports (+) of Certain Creditor Countries in $ (000,000's) Gold

	1929	1938
The United Kingdom		
With the rest of British Commonwealth of Nations ...	−55	−362
With other countries	−1 803	−758
France		
With French Colonies, protectorates and mandated territories ...	+96	−70
With other countries	−412	−196

These developments have much reduced the sc ope of multilateral trade. One of the most conspicuous features of the depression of international trade has been the decline of multangular trade. The difficulties of any recovery from this stagnation of world trade have been enhanced by the fact that in the shelter of the new trade regulations there has grown up a range of vested interests which together with the present uncertainties of war block the way to a restoration of world market to which all countries have admittance as buyers and sellers. Yet it is obvious that the natural conditions of production, particularly of primary products, are so different and the advantages of a developed specialisation accordingly so high that an efficient utilisation of world resources depends upon the multilateral exchange of goods. No division of the world, however, ingeniously made into self-contained groups could be made without detriment to the majority of countries.

2. Centrally planned production within national areas reduces foreign trade below what takes place under a system of private enterprise and free market. Independent attempts to plan economic activities within national areas must lead to a diminution of economic relations between national areas. Consciously or not national planning has a strong *autarkik* bias and results in a fragmentation of the world along the lines of division of the political map. In Russia from the beginning of the first five-year plan the Soviet Government monopoly of foreign trade has aimed at making the course of economic development in the country as independent of the capitalist world as possible.

The incompatibility of free trade with the principles of collectivist economic planning lies deeper in the nature of planned economy than a possible feeling of antagonism in the minds of planners to the capitalist system. Socialists recognise the importance of essential foreign trade in the building up of national economic system. All the primary and industrial output of a socialist state cannot be locally absorbed or consumed. There is always the need to import essential raw materials and important industrial plants from abroad. Socialists cannot without running the danger of relapsing into a state of industrial backwardness impose an embargo on foreign industrial skill. A socialist state will always find it necessary to send its products to countries abroad and accept foreign wares in exchange. Now the line of comparative advantage which must regulate such trade will shift continually with changes in demand and technique of production. In a world in which changes in population, availability of mineral resources, capital supply, technical knowledge and changes in consumers' demand take place at different pace in different places, their incidence on different national systems is bound to be such as to call for constant adaptation. National authorities are, however, likely to offer all resistances in their power to such disagreeable changes in the lay-out of their country's productive apparatus. When the state has sunk capital in particular lines of enterprise it will not show any remarkable alacrity in writing it off a loss if conditions change to its disadvantage. If the inhabitants of another national area learn to produce at lower cost than hitherto certain commodities which the socialist state has nationally planned to produce, then the socialist government is not likely to allow the interests of its citizens in

buying cheaply from outside to impair the "proper balance of the national system." Cheaper imports will be permanently shut out from internal markets when the state has planned industry producing similar goods (even) at a higher cost ; or the national plan will almost certainly be thrown into chaos ! An agitation to preserve the uneconomic industry (which, it may be noted, is owned by the public) in the supposed national interest of "stability" and "balance" is politically feasible in a socialist state. So vague, however, are these concepts and so difficult of measurement are the advantages claimed that the "whole system will degenerate into a struggle of interested groups and the volume of trade will be constricted beyond what is reasonable."

Socialists believe that when planning becomes general the disposition of productive resources will be fully in accordance with the requirements of international division of labour. In order that it may be so the different national authorities must have both the will and the power to adapt cotinually their economic plans to the requirements of such a division. Under democratic system the members of different industrial groups will refuse to change their occupations as they will feel that in the last analysis it is their representatives who determine the conditions of their employment. "Sectional resistances to change will exert as powerful an influence on national planning as the desirability of employing resources at the point of maximum returns." The authorities of totalitarian states, on the other hand, will be subject to strong temptations so to arrange their productive schemes as to reduce outside contacts to a minimum, so that "unnecessary" causes of friction may be avoided. This is clearly the way to the maximum of *autarky* compatible with the potentialities of the national area concerned.

Even assuming that the planning authorites had complete freedom in the disposition of national resources, it does not follow that they would dispose of the resources in such a way as to promote what from the international point of view would be the optimal forms of international economic co-operation. When production is carried on by extensive quasi-monopolistic units like the different nation states the disposition of resources which seems most advantageous to the members of the units is not necessarily a distribution of resources in any sense optimal from the point of view of the world as a whole. "If a small state sets up trading monopolies

in a world of otherwise competitive markets and if it then follows the movements of the market, the policy which will maximise its takings will contribute also to the maximisation of world production in price terms." But contradictions arise if it forms a large element in any of these markets. The presumption that control of production according to the dictates of the market will be conducive to general harmony is justified only when the units which deal are relatively small. There is no reason to think that the nation states form units which satisfy this criterion.

In a world of planned economies international specialisation ceases to be of any special advantage. If productivity increases in any national area, cheaper imports in other areas are carefully excluded. Shut out from foreign markets the inhabitants of that area would have to use the resources set free in producing other commodities at costs higher than if they could have been procured from elsewhere by exchange The value of the land of the affected areas would be somewhat lowered. "As national planning precludes free migration the equilibrium rate of exchange would be lowered too." The outlet for the new forms of production to which the inhabitants might turn themselves would be limited greatly by the protectionism of national planning elsewhere. The " ruinous competition " of producers in the impoverished areas would be resisted with great energy at every place. In the few markets to which they succeed in gaining access the lowering of prices necessary to unload the increased supplies would be much greater than need have been the case if the area of sale were less circumscribed. Thus central planning of production within national areas destroys the basis of international economic specialisation and limits the scope of advantageous trade which would otherwise arise from important differences in comparative costs.

4. Some leading thinkers of our age who are by no means fascinated by the possibility of a little planning in their own national area however regard national economic self-sufficiency as capable of yielding large benefits generally non-economic in character. It is true the ideas of these theorists cannot become politically significant until they are framed into national policies. Yet the ideas of economic and political philosophers though not immediately acted upon by policy-framers are more powerful than we commonly realise. Soon or late ' it is ideas which are dangerous for good or evil";—we should never doubt their potency over a period of time.

It has been lately pointed out that any form of economic intercourse between nations (no less than the exclusiveness of national planning) gives rise to extensive causes of discord in the field of economic exchanges and results in political friction. Mr. Aldous Huxley endeavours to improve this state of things by making nations as far as possible economically independent of one another. The number of contacts between nations in the course of exchange of goods should, in his opinion, be minimised. The influence of nationalistic idolatry is now such that every contact between nations threatens to produce discord. Accordingly, argues Mr. Huxley, the less the different nations have to do with one another the more they are likely to keep the peace. Moreover for the sake of prestige and out of what happens during wartime most Governments now desire, whatever the cost and however great the natural handicaps, to produce within their own territory as many as possible of the commodities produced more easily elsewhere. Nor is this all, the progress of technology has made it possible for Governments to achieve their wishes in practice, for modern technological discoveries have made it unnecessary henceforward for nations to have much to do with one another. Even the present dependence of some nations for their food supply on outside sources does not minimise chances of successful self-sufficient planning within national areas. According to experts trained in the techniques of modern agro-biology (whose ideas are revealed in Dr. Wilcox's *Nations Can Live At Home*) any country which chooses to apply the most advanced methods to the production of food plants can support a population far in excess of the densest population existing any where on the earth's surface at the present time. The novel system of "dirtless farming" devised by Prof. Gericke of California promises, if it turns out to be satisfactory on a large scale, a large supply of food produced with less labour on a smaller area than any other method can offer. Mr. Huxley believes that his new method will produce an agricultural revolution "compared to which the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries will seem the most trifling of social disturbances."

The belief that increasing scientific knowledge makes for lesser economic interdependence has been developed as an aspect of the creed of scientific humanism which Mr. Lancelot Hogben has popularised in his recent writings.[1] According to him both the scarcity dialectics of

[1] Cf. esp. his *Dangerous Thoughts* and *Science For The Citizen*.

Marxian theory and the confident dogmas of the diehard progressives of the 19th century regarding the advantages of free trade lead to error about the impact of new scientific knowledge on contemporary social change. The effect of scientific discovery during the past two centuries has been mainly to increase the potential of local self-sufficiency consistent with the satisfaction of fundamental human needs. Chile saltpetre can now be made anywhere; hospitals are using radio-active sodium prepared from ordinary salt instead of having to import the rare radio-active minerals. Most of our machinery of aluminium may soon be made from the clay of our soils and magnesium from sea-salt; we are already beginning to feed our pigs on the disintegration products of wood pulp, to produce sugar by the agency of bacteria from vegetable waste matter. To the scientific humanist the free traders' argument against local self-sufficiency seems to antedate the synthetic manufacture of nitrate fertilisers.[1]

On the lines of *economic* analysis the implications of the views which Mr. Keynes[2] so confidently advocated a few years ago reach farther than the above. Mr. Keynes started with a consideration of the evil effects of war; war destroys beauty, wealth and comfort accumulated by centuries of effort, war destroys happiness. It destroys the subtle checks and controls which make civilised life possible. Under modern conditions even the cost of preparing for war bids fair to constitute a burden which will more than absorb all the fruits of technical progress. Therefore the inhabitants of national area should be free to develop their lives in their own way without friction arising from economic entanglement among nations. Nations should aim at self-sufficiency even at the sacrifice of material comfort and well-being in order that economic causes of war arising chiefly out of competitive struggle for market may be abolished. Exchange of goods among nations should be diminished. "Ideas, knowledge, science, hospitality, travel, these are the things which should of their nature be international. Goods should be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible." A greater measure of national self-sufficiency and economic isolation among countries than existed in 1914 may tend to serve the cause of peace rather than otherwise.

Mr. Keynes thought that modern developments in national sentiment and techniques of production have driven us to the point where

[1] Hogben. *The Creed of The Scientific Humanist.*
[2] Since the writing of this paper Mr. Keynes has become a peer.

salvation is to be achieved by a retreat from internationalism and a resort to national economic independence. Over an increasingly wide range of industrial and agricultural products it is doubtful whether " the economic loss of national self-sufficiency is great enough to outweigh the other advantages of gradually bringing the producer and the consumer within the ambit of the same national economic and financial organisation." Experience accumulates to prove that most modern processes of mass-production can be performed in most countries and climates with about equal efficiency.

The systematically unsound views reviewed above seem to be based upon a number of fundamentally wrong premises. First, it is assumed that it is possible to be self-sufficient in the supply of our needs without going into greatly enhanced costs. Second, the economies of large-scale production are held to be realisable within national frontiers. Third, economic exclusiveness of nations helps them to keep the peace among themselves. Fouth, in some queer, esoteric sense it is always virtuous to eat home-grown rhubarb rather than foreign lemon, that nationalism is somehow intrinsically superior to internationalism.

But from the fact that nitrogen can be derived from the air or that several crops of tomatoes can be grown a year by tank gardening it does not necessarily follow that every nation can plan forthwith independently of the rest of the world for a new era of separatist plenty. We do not as yet manufacture wheat or machine tool or blast furnace from the atmosphere[1]; however nations having limited supply of milk pride themselves on their ability to manufacture wool out of scarce supply of milk thereby avoiding import of wool. When this is supported in serious-looking treatises on national policy, we have a vision of under-nourished nations with low standards of living, regimentation of consumption and production, whole populations tuned into automatons whose tastes of food, clothing, entertainment are dictated by the Party in power. There is something ironic about the manufacture of neutralisers and substitutes encouraged by the exclusionist polices of self-sufficient nationalism. The sentiment of economic nationalism leads to and is also reinforced by the increasing success of self-frustrating scientific inventions. Science in war is now

[1] Nor have we as yet found it possible to breakfast on the clay of railway embankments, lunch on boiled aeroplanes and dine on toasted steam-hammers!

engaged in jamming radio-waves, bringing down airplanes and immobilising automobiles. If milk has any purpose it was given us to drink. Nowadays however knife-handles are manufactured from scanty supply of milk. This appeals strongly to our sense of ironic humour; and the late Mr. Henry Newman[1] regarded it as constituting an intricate problem of composite supply as the cow has now become a substitute for the elephant! Scientists and industrialists are no doubt very clever in our days and can turn almost everything into everything else. What should we think when we are told about the French scientist who after having invented the process of manufacturing power alcohol from wheat was then investigating methods of making bread from petrol?

It must be impressed upon national leaders that a considerable degree of international specialisation is necessary in a rational world in all cases where it is dictated by wide differences of climate, natural resources, native aptitudes, level of culture and density of population. The broad dichotomy between agriculture and manufacture does not exhaust the whole truth about comparative advantage; there is agriculture and agriculture, manufacture and manufacture. Where there are significant cost-differences the economists who have neglected the vital needs supplied under free trade in order to justify the luxury of self-sufficiency may have gained some cheap repute with the unthinking crowd "anxious as usual for a cabalistic rationalisation of its own prejudices." But they have given bad advice to the world. Economists who have given an analysis on the assumption that cost-differences are non-existent have done a grave disservice to all of us. "It was not thus that the great men who discovered the methods of pure analysis conceived their application to practice."

Considering for a moment the problem of local self-sufficiency in (say) food, increase in supply in the old countries cannot be obtained largely by an extension of the acreage, but only by an increase of the yield which is a slow and changing process. In Italy the "corn battle" had to be fought eight times before the record yield of the year 1925 in the beginning of the battle could be consolidated; then also the increase was not much different from that of other countries. In Germany the average yield for 1929-34 as to wheat and rye was still lower than before 1914. The one-sided promoting

[1] KIM, who until his death sometime ago regularly contributed the famous HERE AND THERE column to the *Statesman* (Calcutta).

of the production of bread-stuff had unexpected reaction on other branches of agriculture so that their production decreased and greater imports became necessary. There is also the problem of costs. While before the last war and even in 1929 the prices of the same agricultural articles in the different countries differed by a relatively small percentage only there were as early as the beginning of 1936 differences of 100% or more. In 1913 the difference between the average annual whole-sale price in Berlin for home-grown wheat and price for plata Rosario in London was only 2·93 *s.* fr. or 14%; in 1934 the difference had risen to 16·0 *s.* fr. or 212% of the lower price. Another aspect of the problem of costs is the wholesale redirection of industrial forces that would become necessary if nations having large export trade were to become self-sufficient. Even in the U.S.A. where total exports are normally less than 10% of total domestic production certain important industries are vitally dependent on foreign markets. The percentage of total production exported for refined copper is 61 and for cotton and phosphate rock 50.

There are those who regard the economic well-being of the people as secondary and important only in so far as it enhances the nation's strength. They realise the cost of carrying out a programme of self-sufficiency but count it as unimportant in comparison with the attainment of the more vital goal of national power. In Germany in 1936 the exclusion of foreign products had been accompanied by war-time economy in the use of domestic resources and complete regimentation of economic life of the nation. In November an instruction was issued that potatoes were to be pared as finally as possible and the parings were to be exchanged for firewood. In the following January the Hitler Youth were to organise the collection of food scraps, rags, scrap metal, skins, bones etc. In November it was ordered that textile fabrics destined for the public service must contain up to 50% of artificial fibre. That was then the peace economy of 1936!

A basic limitation on the achievement of national self-sufficiency by any modern industrial nation has been firmly established by nature. The situation of the seven Great Powers with respect to the essential raw materials is indicated in Dr. Brook Emeny's study, *The Strategy of Raw Materials*,[1] where it is explained in a few chatrs arranging

[1] A short summary of the main arguments contained here is given in Ellsworth's *International Economics*.

the important raw materials in order of importance in war that no single power can rely upon its own resources for even half of the twenty-two important products. The Uinted States and Russia come closest to self-sufficiency being capable of supplying 80% of domestic requirements in the case of 10 and 12 of these commodities respectively. Even the U.S. is largely or completely dependent upon imports for its supplies of rubber, the four steel alloys,[1] antimony, tin and mercury while Russia must secure outside her borders more than half of her requirements of lead, nitrates, aluminium, rubber, nickel, tungsten, antimony and tin. Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan must look out abroad for adequate provision of all but a few of the essential raw materials, the lack of the most important products being most conspicuous in the case of Great Britain and Germany.

The relative strategic position of the Great Powers is changed somewhat though not substantially if to the normal domestic production of each country there is added that obtainable from "increased domestic output under the stress of war" and from the production of colonies and regions of control. War time as opposed to peace-time self-sufficiency appears possible with respect to all but a small number of essential raw materials for the United States, the British Empire and Russia. The situation of France is slightly improved, that of Germany, Italy and Japan is altered little. We can thus understand the basic reason for the strenuous efforts of Germany and Italy to encourage the production of *ersatz* materials and in the period of crisis finance just preceding the war to limit the use of available foreign exchange to the purchase of the most essential raw materials. Germany's intensive trade drive in the years preceding the final plunge in the war is also comprehensible in terms of this primary scarcity.

On the assumption that war is to be a permanent instrument of national policy there are reasons which may justify for particular national groups some interference with the maximum international division of labour. Defence may be better than opulence. Arrangements which secure continuous provision of materials or services essential to conduct of war even though they involve securing them at higher cost than would otherwise be necessary are capable of

[1] Manganese, nickle chromite, tungsten.

justification on the assumption of the permanent necessity of war. If the right to war were surrendreed, if the danger of war were removed by more efficient political arrangements the argument for economic nationalism as a corollary to the necessity of war would be destroyed too. Unless the right to war is to be regarded as an end in itself the need to prepare for war can never be an argument for the retention of national sovereignty in the economic sphere and the political (absence of) arrangements which make it necessary.

Without maintaining however that war is an ultimate good in itself it is possible to advocate a policy of national self-sufficiency on the ground that the modern processes of mass production can be carried out in all countries with equal efficiency. This is held as justifying tariffs, as the benefits of large-scale production cannot be fully realised unless the market is secured by tariffs. To say at the present moment that the imposition of tariffs is conducive to the existence of wide and secure markets is so absurd a misreading of the facts of economic experience that it scarcely seems necessary to spend time refuting it. It is conceivable that particular manufacturing units might run at less cost if a market were assured by tariff. "But for every case where existence of tariff has permitted such economies there could be established many more where it prevents them from coming into existence." Can it really be supposed that the economies of American mass production could be as great if the 48 states were surrounded by tariffs? Is it not a grosser form of contemparary nationalist short-sightedness to urgue speciously that the economics of large-scale shoe-making could have been fully utilised by the Bata Shoe Company if its area of sale were coterminous with the national frontiers of Czechoslovakia ?

Further it is impossible to accept that a policy of economic exclusiveness will promote peaceful relations among the nations. It is questionable how long ideas, science, knowledge, hospitality, travel are likely to remain free when goods are as far as possible home-spun. Developments in those parts where such policies are now being applied scarcely seem to warrant much optimism here. Moreover the division of the political map have no relevance to the needs of separate, self-sufficient planning units. Some nations are less fortunately endowed than others with natural possessions and so long as they are prevented from bettering their position by exchange or by migration there is the danger that their inhabitants may be led to predatory war by the

exclusiveness of their more fortunate neighbours. "Given the present political divisions of the world, to recommend *autarky* is to recommend war as an instrument for making *autarky* possible." The populations of the East will be increasing long after the population of the West has been stationary or possibly declining. It they are forcibly prevented from foreign trade "they are not likely to forget that at no very distant date in the past it was deemed justifiable to break down similar prohibitions on their part with cannons and bayonets." The danger of the worsening of relations between the states of unequal resources and populations, the "haves" and "have-nots" of popular discussion, may be easily perceived. So long as trade and movement are free the fact of territorial possession is not of primary importance to the real incomes of the inhabitants of particular areas. But once national areas are treated as if they were the private property of the state, 'their markets preserved for its citizens alone their resources open to development only by national labour and national capital" then territorial possession matters very much indeed. When wider territorial possessions assume such great importance, the claim for a place in the sun becomes the fateful expression of an urgent and insistent need.

All this leads us to question whether there is some inherent virtue in national separatism as such which justifies the retention of national sovereignty in state control of economic matters with its tragic wastes and manifold dangers. Is there some ultimate good in the national form of community which is worth risking all the wastes and dangers of nationalism to preserve? Love of one's country and devotion to national good are not negligible virtues. A man must have something beyond himself to which he can give his devotion if he is to be fully human, potentially more than human. But it may be asked whether at the present stage of history devotion to the national ideal as such is a very fruitful form of emotion. "The feelings associated with patriotism regarded as good in themselves are not inseparable from particular forms of political organisation." To love the landscape of the Oxford meadows or the fine flexibility of the English language it is not necessary (for an Englishman) to love the Oxford County Council or the British Board of Education. To discover the ultimate goods of life in particluar forms of political machinery regardless of their suitability to promote human happiness is a delusion—a confusion of mechanism and purpose, of ends and means.

What we need above everything else at this moment is a liberal society which preserves spontaniety and freedom with its manifold play of mind on mind and its world-wide heritage of art and learning. In our days that ideal can only be sustained by far-reaching changes in political organisation. If political organisation is sectional it may give rise to optical delusions behind which the forces of monopoly and violence may manœuvre. Nationalism is a thing which must be surpassed ; there was perhaps never a moment in the history of mankind when such a task seemed so difficult to accomplish. "It can be accomplished if our hearts and minds tell us that it is necessary ; and it must be accomplished if all that we regard as most valuable is not to perish in the wreck of our common civilisation.

Round the World

A. L. Rowse on British Public Schools

We discussed in two previous issues of this Review the place of Public Schools in the social and public life of Britain to-day. If we revert to this topic, it is only because of an elaborate commentary which Mr. A. L. Rowse has published in two successive issues of the *New Statesman and Nation* on the working of these institutions. He is definitely of the view that these schools have not for years made any attempt to foster intelligence and clear thinking in their alumni. They have been satisfied that these public school products developed certain particular lines of thought and conduct. They were to go about with self-assurance, to become complacent as to the future of the existing social and political systems, to avoid certain kinds of discussion with strangers and maintain good form in society. These qualities are supposed to make up character and it is on the building up of character in this narrow sense that the Public Schools have concentrated for decades past. Mr. Rowse thinks that this emphasis has led to a complete decadence of the British governing class, which has not only lost all powers of constructive thinking but what is more, has for years kept at arm's length all persons who can and do think. This narrowness certainly represents a tragic fall since the great days of the Cecils, the Pitts and Canning. The tragedy has become all the more poignant because of the fact that the governing class though so decadent happens still to govern the country and the empire. A great nation and small minds cannot, however, go together.

Sir Michael Sadler on Thomas Arnold

On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), Sir Michael Sadler has made certain observations on the achievements of the great educationist, which require mention. First of all Sir Michael dwells upon the qualities of a good and great teacher. To become a really useful and inspiring guide of the future hopefuls of a nation, a person must be impressionable and sensitive to new influences but he must not be vacillating and impulsively changeable. He must never be obstinate in regard to the ideas he may cherish and the information he may possess. If he clings to them alone without opening his mind to new ideas and information, he stands the risk of being fossilized and losing thereby the essential quality of a good teacher. His vision must widen, his sympathies broaden and his thought deepen till the end of his life. That Thomas Arnold who became the Headmaster of Rugby in 1828 possessed all these intellectual qualities need not be emphasised. Without them he could not have left so permanent an impress upon the Public School education of his country. It is only a pity that a century after he had taken up work at Rugby no great educationst was thrown by the country to adjust education to new environments and changed circumstances. Another Thomas Arnold in the second and third decades of this century might have overcome the prejudice of the governing class

and made education in Great Britain more effective and more productive. Sir Michael in his observations refers to Arnold's views as to the relations between the State and education. "He had no love for the bureaucratic State," and would not have tolerated too much of interference with the work of the schools by the agents of the State. But at the same time "he realised that national education was too vast and too momentous an undertaking to be left wholly to individual enterprise." He advocated the enlargement of the State responsibility in respect of education but at the same time he wanted sufficient scope to be left to private initiative and enterprise.

New Zealand to Continue a White Dominion

In a recent issue of the *Round Table*, its correspondent from New Zealand observes "if we be destined to emerge from this world struggle an integral part of a victorious British Empire, the gravity of the peril surmounted should at long last convince us that the motto 'Sinn Fein'—'Ourselves Alone'—will no longer serve the Dominion." From this a reader is not to conclude that the gates of the Dominion will be thrown open to emigrants from other countries irrespective of colour, creed and race. For the correspondent continues "if we are to survive as a British, a white, a Christian race, we must open our gates to the people of crowded countries of the right stock..." To how many of the United Nations now fighting together will this ideal appeal?

Hearst Group of Newspapers in U. S.

We have had, of late, very little reference to the Hearst Group of Newspapers in the U. S. A. in the messages which have been poured into the Indian Press by Reuter. William Randolph Hearst who is now seventy-eight owns and controls seventeen newspapers. Before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, he maintained the policy of isolation for the United States. His journals were sometimes taking stronger lines in this respect than even the Chicago Tribune or the Daily News of New York. After the Japanese attack, he naturally gave up isolationism but has been rather ill at ease that his country has to accept responsibility, partly at least, for the policy which is being pursued by Britain in certain fields. In respect of India for instance the views expressed by his newspapers may not tally with those cabled to the Indian press by news agencies.

The French Press Before the War

Pierre Lazareff was a journalist of great repute in France. At the age of thirty-three he became the editor of the famous French Newspaper, Paris-Soir. On the fall of France in 1940, he left his country and is now in the United States. Sometime ago he gave a discourse on the French Press as it existed before and during the War. He had to say much in this connection, which is uncomplimentary. It should of course be pointed out that French journalism had acquired a bad odour long before the outbreak of the present War in 1939. When Lazareff expressed his desire to adopt this profession, his father warned him that journalism in

France was "for misfits and blackmailers." For some years before hostilities broke out in the summer of 1939, the French Press was particularly in a degraded condition. The proprietors and editors were "kept" by the Government, industrial groups and even by foreign countries. *Le Temps*, for instance, took money first from Russian Tsarists and then from Communists. Newspapers and periodicals subsidised by the German Nazis were also many. In fact this venality of the press strengthens the theory that "France was undermined and betrayed from within."

McArthur

McArthur's exploits in the Philippines have gladdened the heart of many Americans. His stock is now high in the United States and he is more talked of in the country than any body else. It is no wonder, therefore, that his name should now be mentioned in many circles in connection with the presidential election which comes off in November, 1944. The date is no doubt still far off and much water may flow down the Potomac before then but it is an indication of the popularity of McArthur that his name is being mentioned already in this connection. It should be known that military exploits have always been regarded in the United States as commendable qualifications in the candidates for the presidency. Washington, the first President, achieved his unrivalled reputation in the country first by his conduct as a Colonial Officer and later as the Commander-in-Chief of the Independence Army. In the 19th century from Jackson to Garfield most of the Presidents were chosen because of their military reputation. It may be pointed out that after the last War though mediocre men like Harding and Coolidge were elected to the White House, military heroes of the war like General Pershing were silently passed over. This was because of the reaction against war, which became such an important factor of public feeling in post-War years. The United States were brought into the struggle by President Wilson and once it was over there was not only a great reaction against him and his party but also against many of those who were in one way or another associated with his administration. The Americans became incensed particularly after the Treaty of Versailles that so much of American blood had been shed on European soil without any return for the same. It was this reaction which eclipsed the reputation of military heroes and made them unacceptable to the nation as the occupants of the White House. It is difficult to calculate at this hour if the successful close of the present War will be followed by a similar anti-war reaction or not. But there is one factor involved in the present struggle which may make McArthur's candidature very popular. American attitude towards peoples of the European continent is variable. It is not one of permanent hostility or friendship. But the attitude of the United States towards Japan has a permanent colour of hostility and McArthur, fighting so valiantly against the Japanese, may have acquired a permanent hold on the imagination of the American public.

Religion in the U. S. S. R.

No subject has created greater interest in other countries than the state of religion in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Nothing

has stimulated greater prejudice against the Union than the rumour that religion has been proscribed by the Communist Government and that all sincere adherents of the new regime are anti-religious and godless. Sir John Maynard contributed an article to a recent issue of the London *Political Quarterly* in which he narrated his own experiences in regard to the practice of religion in the U. S. S. R. He first of all refers to the identity in Czarist Russia between the Church and the State. The Church was then, of course, the Orthodox Church which claimed a monopoly of religion within the Empire. Only among the Mahomedans in Central Asia the agents of this Church were judiciously neglectful in their interference, otherwise everywhere else they saw to it that people conformed to this Church as rigidly as possible. After the Revolution, the Bolshevik Government broke up this monopoly, and a policy of what has been described as tolerant disapproval was inaugurated. The landed property and other kinds of wealth of the churches were confiscated and it goes without saying that the intimate relationship which existed before between the Orthodox Church and the State was severed. But religion as such was not put under a ban. The State did not proscribe it. It in fact left the citizens to themselves in this regard. They might, if they so desired, practise any religion they liked. But at the same time it should be known that the Communist Party which is the only party in Soviet Russia has not taken up this neutral attitude towards the practice of religion. It has carried on an intensive campaign against it. In the eyes of the Communists religion is a dope which diverts men's mind from the realities of the world and makes them disinclined to face them. Secondly, Communists as the missionaries of a new civilisation would like to concentrate exclusively upon the worship of the new ideal. Accordingly they have carried on propaganda against all religions. But the fact that this propaganda has not been as effective as it is believed to be in certain circles is testified to by one-third of the adult population in the towns and two-thirds of it in the villages still remaining believers in the Soviet Union. The industrial areas are particularly anti-religious and maintain no churches but in other parts of the Union people's attitude is different. The number of churches, synagogues and mosques is still 8,338 while the number of monasteries is 37. Sir John Maynard also tells us that although much has been made of a law which was adopted in 1929 and which withdrew the right of preaching on the part of the religious bodies, actually this law is applicable only to the Russian unit of the Union. In other units no such prohibitory law has been adopted.

New Regime in France

The third French Republic (with its parliamentary government), which was born of military defeat suffered by Napolean III could not survive the debacle of 1940. Parliamentary government was never a success in France. It could not strike a deep root in her soil. There was a time when we heard almost incessantly from our candid British friends that democracy was suited only to European environments and could be worked only by European genius. It could not be transplanted east of Suez without its growth being distorted and even undermined. These friends forgot that democracy existed nowhere before the 19th century and it had not yet been definitely proved if the Europeans or the Asiatics could work it better. In any event it is a fact that the French people were not satisfied with democratic government as it was worked in their

country. It involved too much of corruption and yielded too little of efficiency. It was because of this dissatisfaction which already existed that parliamentary government, now associated with military defeat, became so easily ousted in France. But what is the system of government set up instead? No reply can definitely be made to this query. The government which is carrying on the administration of unoccupied France is still only a transitional one. The dictatorship of Marshal Petain was established in July, 1940 and both houses of the French Parliament meeting in National Assembly conferred upon him full powers to promulgate a new constitution. But until this new constitution was framed and applied, the old Marshal would have all the powers of the legislature and the executive.

A writer in the *Political Science Quarterly* of New York, who had been in France for nine months after the debacle, tells us that the situation was so unpropitious that for six months nothing was done by the Marshal in regard to constitution-framing. In January, 1941, however, he appointed a body called the National Council, whose membership was drawn from the main economic and social interests of the country. But the Council as a whole was not allowed to meet. Several committees were formed out of it to deal with various problems. The first, constituted in March, 1941, was for instance to deal with the problems of professional organisation, the second to study regionalism, the third municipal government. It was not until June, 1941 that a fourth committee was formed to draft a new constitution. It is not yet known if this constitution committee has submitted any report. So the transitional period is not yet over and possibly it will not be over until the close of the war. We do not know if after the war the recommendations of the Committee which is working under the leadership of the reputed professor of constitutional law, M. Barthelemy, will be acceptable to the French people or not. This professor, we are told, is no longer a believer in liberty, which, as an idea, has played so great a part in French history. It is very unlikely that the French people, though temporarily disillusioned before the War as to parliamentary government, will desire in normal times to part with liberty as the basis of their government.

While the new constitution has not yet been framed, important changes have been brought about in the public administration of the country. Most of the police forces were in the hands of the municipalities in France in the days of the Third Republic. But with the inauguration of the Petain dictatorship they were first placed in the hands of the Prefects and then in July, 1941 they were reorganised and placed under the supervision and control of police intendants, each of whom is now in charge of a new administrative region. The administrative councils of the departments and arrondissements have also been abolished and the prefects and their subordinates are not only paid out of the national budget but they are now exclusively the representatives of the Chief of State. In the towns, self-government has been completely suppressed. We are told that this suppression may not be resented very much by the public. The municipal government in these towns was conducted with so much corruption and with so utter an inefficiency, that the people may not be discontented on the ground of their suppression. But we are not certain if this feeling of relief will be permanent. In the rural areas the elected communal councils have been maintained and what is more, an arrangement has been made for the payment of the Mayors who are saddled with so much responsibility.

Party Politics in Australia

Recently we were told by a news agency that Mr. Curtin and his colleagues were having difficult moments with the Conservative opposition. There is nothing surprising in the news. Since the outbreak of the War in 1939, attempts have been made for the formation of a National Government in Australia but they have proved abortive on all occasions. At the time Great Britain declared war against Germany three years ago the Conservative coalition of the United Australia and Country Parties had been in power for about seven years (since 1932). Mr. R. G. Menzies had succeeded to the Premiership in previous April after the death of Joseph Lyons. He could not establish for his government any reputation either for efficiency or straight-dealing. In fact as the War progressed, criticism against his Government became increasingly vehement. One year, however, passed by and in September, 1940, the general election was held. The results of the election were rather unfortunate. It did not confer upon any party a majority in the House of Representatives. The total strength of this body is 74 out of which the Conservative coalition of Mr. Menzies received 36, the Labour Party received 36 while the other two seats were won by two independent members. One of these latter was Conservative by affiliation and declared after election his support of the Menzies Government. So he continued to be the Prime Minister. The exigencies of War and the example of Britain, however, cried for a National Government. Accordingly the Premier opened pourparlers with the Labour Opposition in which there were two elements—the one led by Dr. H. V. Evatt being ambitious and eager to take office and the other led by John Curtin himself being rather cautious and even unwilling to take responsibility under existing conditions. Ultimately the neogiations broke down. The Labour Party decided not to take office until it had a clear and definite majority. It, however, pointed out at the same time very emphatically that it would support to the best of its ability all war efforts. So although it kept out of the Government, it allowed itself to be represented on the National War Council which was constituted at its suggestion. But this indirect co-operation in war efforts did not bring the Conservatives and Labourites closer. It only drew them further apart. Mr. Menzies himself became increasingly unpopular with the Labour Party and in August, 1941 he was constrained to resign not only the leadership of the coalition and the Premiership of the Commonwealth but also the leadership of the United Australia Party, which was assumed by Mr. W. M. Hughes, the old veteran who had been Prime Minister of Australia before for years. The Premiership went to a younger man, Mr. Fadden who was expected to pull on better with the Labour opposition. But this arrangement did not last very long. After thirty-seven days of governmental experiment Mr. Fadden's Government had to resign on account of a defeat which it sustained in the House on the budget. Both the two Independents sided with the Labour Party on this occasion. One of them was already labour-minded while the other pointed out that the Conservatives had lost the confidence of the country and in view of the gravity of the situation in the Pacific it would be unwise to keep them in power any longer. So Fadden's Government fell and that of Curtin was constituted.

The Labour Party in Australia is not young. It held office on two former occasions. From 1910 to 1913 it was in power with a comfortable majority. It again formed the Government in 1929 and continued till

1932. Both the periods were rather critical, the former because of the increasing difficulties of the international situation and the latter for the depression. It was not, however, for external causes that the Party remained out for long after each spell of power. It was internal differences and disruption which kept it away from the seats of authority. Even on the present occasion there are several groups in the Party and it is not known how long they may keep together. The Party is mainly dependent upon the trade unions, the members of which are mostly narrow in outlook. What they want is not only the improvement in the conditions of their work but representation on the boards which manage the industries. Apart from these, they have hardly any other interests. Only a small section of them can be said to be truly socialistically minded. In fact there is a very strong group headed by Mr. Beasely, which is "non-communist" by policy and reputation. The intellectuals who have joined the Labour Party out of an ideal are not many. They are headed by Dr. Herbert Evatt, a distinguished scholar and sometime member of the University of Sydney and later a judge of the High Court of Australia. This latter post he resigned in order to serve the Labour Party. He has ability, vigour and enthusiasm and is cut out for the Premiership. But it is not known if he will find it possible to pull on for long with the hard-boiled and narrow-minded trade-unionists.

It is a rule with the Australian Labour Party that its members in Parliament will elect the Cabinet Ministers, when it is to form the Government. There was no exception to this rule on the present occasion. All the Labour members in the House and the Senate met together and elected the Cabinet Ministers. There was one feature of the election, which may be emphasised. The "non-communist" element was given a cold shoulder. Its leader was the only member of the group included in the Cabinet. This shows that the Cabinet was intended to be rather radical in character. In fact, Mr. Ward, the Minister in charge of Labour and National Service has given expression to views, which may not be welcome to the Conservatives and may have put them on their guard. This lukewarmness of the opposition is, however, only one of the difficulties that the Curtin Government has to face. Its position in the Senate in which it is in a minority of two is another difficulty, which it does not know how to overcome.

Dominion Status and Declaration of War

What are the implications of Dominion Status in regard to the declaration of war? This is a question which has troubled many and will be answered in different ways even now. When in September, 1939, Great Britain declared war against Germany, Canada and South Africa did not regard themselves thereby as belligerents. They made their own declarations and came into the War after such action. In Australia the Conservative Government of Mr. Menzies was then in office. He and his colleagues did not think that any separate declaration was necessary. They were convinced that such declaration by the King in Britain was binding upon the Dominions as well. In other words they worked on the theory that the Crown was indivisible. If it was at war in Great Britain, it was at war in the Dominions as well. So Australia regarded herself as at war by virtue of the British declaration against Germany. By the time Japan made an assault upon the Pearl Harbour, the Conser-

vatives in Australia were out and the Labour Government of Mr. Curtin was in office. This Government did not follow the example of its predecessor in respect of the procedure of the declaration of war. Dr. Herbert Evatt, who is the Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs in this Cabinet, is an authority on constitutional law, having written a book several years ago on King and the Imperial Crown.' He was definitely of the view that Australia could not be at war with Japan merely because the King on the advice of the Ministers in Great Britain had declared war against that country. Nor did he think that the Governor-General would have the right to declare war on behalf of Australia. It was necessary that he should have specific assignment from the King in this regard. "He, therefore, obtained, through the High Commissioner, the Royal Instruments expressly conferring upon the Governor-General the power to declare that as from a date to be specified a state of war with Japan, Finland, Hungary and Rumania existed in Australia. These Royal instruments, like the Governor-General's proclamation, were to be countersigned by the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth and, with His Majesty's permission, . . . they were sent to Australia by picturegram."

University Education in Eire

Sometime ago a survey of resident students of the Trinity College, Dublin, was taken by a group of undergraduates. It has yielded some interesting information. Forty-two per cent of the students have been found to be sons of professional men, seventeen per cent of clergymen, nine per cent of doctors, six per cent of teachers and five per cent each of lawyers, engineers and architects. Sons of business men account for twenty per cent of students, sons of farmers sixteen per cent and those of civil servants seven per cent. The income of the parents has been estimated to range from nil to £50,000. The average annual income being £750. Quite a number of undergraduates come of families with an income ranging between £50 to £150. The average annual expenditure of a student, apart from tutorial fees, has been found to be £80, the lowest personal expenditure being £20 and the highest £320. Six per cent of the students work their way through college, earning their entire income either by journalism or by giving private tuition. In the Trinity College, Dublin, the rule still prevails that students must attend eighty five per cent of the lectures delivered. The survey tells us that most of the students approve of this rule. It is an unfortunate fact in Ireland that many of her educated men emigrate to other countries. The survey tells us that there is little chance of the practice being discontinued. Only thirty-three per cent of the students expressed their intention to remain in the country after the completion of their education. The number of books read by a student in a year ranged from nil to 200, the average being 43. Honours students and students of law read one book each week. As for recreation eleven per cent of resident students do not play any game, twenty-five per cent play only one, twenty-two per cent play two and forty-two per cent three or more.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Satīgītikā.—By Surendranath Chakravortty, M.A. Price Rupees Two only. To be had of General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dhurrumtolla Street, Calcutta.

The book under review is a remarkable publication of recent years. It is a poetical composition difficult to classify. It is too big to be called a ballad. Epical in conception and composition it does not care to conform to the orthodox model of epic that has evolved in Bengali Literature. It does not belong to any recognised type, but stands in a class by itself. It is a mozaic of lyrics, ballads, dialogues and the poet's own philosophisings after the style of epics. The work breathes forth a philosophical motif and may be ranked as a philosophical poem. The author is a man of extensive learning, to which his introduction bears ample and unmistakable testimony; and every page of the book with its colourful phraseology, rich allusions and numerous *ipse dixits* bespeaks the author's wide range of study and knowledge. The reader will be struck by the variety of metres, styles and moods that are exhibited in it. From the medieval *Pānchāli* to the most modern types of metrical composition, interspersed with songs of a bewildering variety of tunes, and from the most comic situations, at times bordering on the grotesque, to the sublime heights, pathetic situations that never fail to move the heart, and dignified utterances of philosophy—all these are found in it in profusion and give it a stamp of originality.

The subject-matter has got its inevitable appeal to all lovers of India's ancient lore. The quarrel of Dakṣa and Śiva, finally consecrated by the self-immolation of Satī, the Divine Mother of Universe, throws a flood of light on the religio-philosophical background upon which the structure of India's culture and civilization rests. The subject has been the theme of many a tragedy and still its interest has not been exhausted. The story has not grown stale in spite of repetitions. It is as profound as the sea and as sublime as the Himalayas. Though an episode in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* and the *Devībhāgavata*, its epical significance has not escaped the eyes of poets. Our author has chosen this ever-green subject and brings to bear upon it the poet's vision and the philosopher's insight. He is a devotee of the Divinity and this has reacted on his poetry. Our poet harps on the logical necessity of the synthesis of Vedic ritualism and philosophy of love and demonstrates the absurdities of extremism either way. Śaivism seems to have been looked upon with suspicion as un-orthodox and un-Vedic by the exponents of Vedic cult in the past, and Vedic ritualism, on the other hand, with its emphasis on the formalism of the sacrificial cult was thought by the people in the opposite camp as empty magic. But each of them seems to have suffered from the bias of extremism and they had been harmonized in India. The result has been the evolution of a philosophical religion, which is the burden of the Purāṇas and Epics and the later Kāvyas. Dakṣa was the guardian patriarch of Vedic sacrificial cult and would not brook the slightest departure from the Vedic norm. He exemplifies the Brāhminical discipline *in excelsis*, though the inner meaning and the ultimate objective of ritualism was not grasped by him in its clear perspective. The external

discipline was an obsession with him and the necessity of spiritual regeneration which is the crowning glory of ritualism, was lost sight of. Hence the correction be needed.

The followers of Saivism on the other hand were noted for their unorthodox lapses from the Vedic discipline and took their stand upon inner purity and sincerity of faith. The two cults had to be synthesized and this supreme achievement was effected by the unparalleled sacrifice of Dakṣa's daughter—the Mother of the Universe. It is a tragedy full of pathos, which has resulted in the upheaval of a philosophy of life and religion, that has enriched India's culture vitalized her religion and corrected the bias of fanaticism, which has been the canker of all proselytising religions in the world. India has been saved from this spiritual disaster, which inevitably results from confusion of the instrumental and intrinsic values. India does not as a rule lay exclusive emphasis on the formal and ceremonial side of religion, but rightly believes it to be the outward coating which finds its justification in so far as it encloses within itself a kernel of faith, love and knowledge. We should be thankful to the author for bringing out this supreme teaching of India's philosophy in poetry that enthrals the soul.

This review will be incomplete if we do not advert to some excellent pieces of poetry in the work. The message of Satī to her Lord on the eve of her final departure from the mundane plane is full of pathos. Equally pathetic is the graphic description by Nārada of Satī's reaction to Dakṣa's revilement of Śiva in the sacrificial pandal. The grief of the Lord on the demise of Satī is the grief of the Universe on the disappearance of the light and love that make life worthwhile, and we must congratulate the author on his successful portrayal of this delicate situation. The description of Kailāsa is a treat by itself. The dialogue between Caṇḍeśa and the Sun-god will compare with some of the best dialogues in our literature. There are, however, places where the author may be regarded as exceeding the limits of poetic decorum and aesthetic necessity. The escapades of the goblins, the reputed followers of Śiva, on the sacrificial ground have been given a comical turn not without justification, but the situation seems to have been painted with colours too thick. The extravagant mirth and the mischievous pranks of these miscreants needed a pulling back by the High Command but the latter is too much preoccupied with the War of Vendetta to pay attention to the activities of the rank and file. The excesses of these little souls do not commend themselves to a cultivated taste. Nārada again, as painted by the author, is a puzzle for his eccentricities. The levity of his character is rather overdrawn though the vivid narration of his Divine Commission leaves no room for doubt about his philanthropic mission. In spite of the defence of Mr. Asokenath Śāstrī, who has written an excellent Foreword to the book, we cannot help thinking that the raillery of Nārada against Dakṣa in his extreme humiliation is out of place, if not undignified, and stands in pronounced contrast with Dakṣa's calm dignity, which reminds one of Prometheus. Nārada seems to have been much too officious, if not deliberately mischievous. There are limitations of the book in our judgment and we wish the author would see his way to revise the e portions in the second edition without sacrificing the innocent humour, so much needed for relieving the tension of the weaker section of his readers. As regards the songs I do not feel competent to pronounce any verdict. Songs cannot be appreciated without being set to tune and then again only the trained ear of the musician, to which I have no pretension,

can catch their music. But the work breathes a lofty spirit and a high philosophy and we have unstinted admiration for it. It is the product of a high order of poetic talent combined with extensive learning. We wish and trust that the book will come to occupy an honoured niche in every book-shelf in Bengali.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

Gita the Mother (Selections from the writings of M. K. Gandhi with an introduction by Jag Parvash Chander).—Published by the Free Press of India Publications, Commercial Buildings, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. xvi+202. Price Rs. 2-4.

The book consists of such extracts from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi (not all of which are available to the ordinary man) as have a bearing on our social, economic, political and religious problems from the Gandhian point of view. The editor deserves our thanks for his industry in going through the voluminous writings of Gandhiji, for culling representative pieces out of them and for bringing a praiseworthy discernment to the task of making the selections.

It is difficult to pick and choose when almost every extract is a gem. The attention of the reader is, however, called to the following—"The Message of the Gita" (p. 1), "The Poor in Spirit" (p. 14), "Tulsidas" (p. 45), "Tolerance" (p. 56), "God is One" (p. 61) and "Brahman Non-Brahman Question" (p. 105).

It is abundantly clear that the editor is a great admirer and an enthusiastic follower of Mahatma Gandhi—the admiration he feels for his master is evident not only all through the introduction but also explains the loving care with which he must have studied Gandhiji's writings which only has enabled him to make his collection a truly representative one.

We draw the attention of the reader to the introduction in which the editor has made an attempt to place before his readers Mahatma Gandhi's interpretation of the *Gita*. Incidentally, he has given them in an illuminating manner Gandhiji's conception of the one-ness of all religions and also shown why his deep and abiding faith in Hinduism has not stood in his way so far as respecting other faiths is concerned.

There cannot be much doubt that the present volume will be welcome not only to the followers of Mahatma Gandhi but also to those who would like to know something about his religious beliefs as conveyed in his own writings and that within the compass of a short and compendious volume.

The reviewer regards this book as a worthy successor to "The Unseen Power" which he recommended to the public in the pages of this periodical some time ago.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

From a School-Window.—By Mr. N. K. Venkateswaran, with a Foreword by Mr. A. Gopala Menon, Director of Public Instruction, Travancore. Printed and published by B. V. Book Depot and Printing Works, Trivandrum. Price Re. 1 only.

Education has become a very popular subject now-a-days. It is indeed a happy sign of the times that our teachers, parents and guardians

are gradually taking keener and livelier interest in different aspects of *Education* and are trying to solve the difficult problems of education with which they are confronted in their day-to-day task of teaching their sons, daughters, pupils and wards. But only a few Indian writers have attempted books on this important branch of study.

Mr. Venkateswaran's little book "From a School Window" is an admirable work on Education which should be greeted by readers in education, for it discusses in a nut-shell many of the latest developments in educational theory and practice. The book contains fifteen well-graded chapters dealing with the common problems of school, of which the very first chapter is on "*Child Nature and Education.*" Here the author stresses the importance of the knowledge of '*child psychology*' on the part of the teacher. In the words of the author 'it is better that the teacher should afford unbridled play to the life of his pupils than that he should suffocate it with heaps of instructions and discipline.' This line reminds one of the very interesting remarks of Percival Wren, "A fine child is better than a fine certificate: the aim of Education is *not* the production of an examinee but the production of a *man;* and the child should be regarded as an *organism* to be developed and not a receptacle to be stuffed."

The chapter on "The Teaching of English" in general and those on "The Teaching of Poetry," and "The Teaching of Composition" in particular have been carefully and exhaustively written. The chapter on "Self-Rule for Students" emphasises the need of active participation and self-help on the part of the educands.

The title of the book is very suggestive and it discusses both the theoretical and practical aspects of our school education, with their psychological background. An important feature of the book is that the problems have been treated with special reference to Indian conditions, and in this respect it should have a special appeal to Indian teachers and students.

But while going through the book one thing struck me. The style and language ought to have been simpler and more non-technical. In this connection I entirely agree with the views of Mr. Menon, the writer of the Foreword, when he remarks, "To make the book have a more universal appeal one would wish that the diction had been simpler." Yet I am sure this brochure on Education will prove helpful not only to teachers and Training College Students but to *all* who take an active interest in matters educational. The general get-up of the book is satisfactory, and its nominal price will undoubtedly suit an Indian pocket.

K. K. MOOKERJEE

Constitutional Developments in the Islamic World.—By Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L. Published under the auspices of the International Relations Club by Mr. Girindranath Mitra of the Book Co., Ltd., 4/3B, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 324. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 5.

While the Islamic World has always been rousing the curiosity of students of politics, the history of its intricate constitutional developments lay scattered so far and was more or less beyond their easy reach and perception. Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh by writing the above book has been able to place before the students of politics and information-seeking public a compendium wherein we find a very clear view of national

aspirations and constitutional developments of the Moslem countries of the world—from Turkey and Moslem Soviet Russia to Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Almughrib.

The book is copious with seven chapters, respectively on Turkey, Egypt, Sudan, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Palestine and Syria including an Appendix consisting of short resumê of Algeria, Morrocco, Tunis, Lybia, Yemen, Transjordan, U. S. S. R., Dutch East Indies, China and India. In addition, it is complete with an elaborate Index and a comprehensive Bibliography.

Leaving aside the Appendix of the book, the seven chapters on different countries, as mentioned above, visualise the tremendous national effort made by the Moslems in evolving constitutional formulae suiting to each respective country in the face of domination by the European Powers. The success achieved so far, is, in no way, the result of violent agitation or armed rebellion, as has aptly been pointed out by the author in his Introduction, but by effusion of that spirit of Nationalism which is free from the taint of sectarian misdemeanour. The author says in this connection, "Nationalism in the Islamic world has become a great rejuvenating force. It has broken down the barriers of sectarianism, suppressed medieval feudalism, uprooted senseless religious taboos, given the women their freedom, introduced science and mass education, revived trade, industry and commerce. It has fused peoples of diverse religions, sects and tribes into great political organisms with single consciousness, single feeling, single ambition. The Moslems and the Copts of Egypt; the Shias and the Sunnis of Iraq; the Christians and the Moslems of Syria and Palestine; the Bakhtiaris, the Ghasghais, the Lurs, the Turcomens of Iran; the Mongols, the Tajiks, the Nars, the Kafirs of Afghanistan—are all imbued and inspired with a love for their common fatherlands."

Turkey's struggle had been great and her success unique. The country which was almost reduced to shambles, as a result of the first Great War, reorganised by the dynamic energy of a single man, Kemal Pasha who was led her through numerous vicissitudes to form into one of the most progressive States of the world within a short period of fourteen years. And, as such, Turkey has evolved a constitution which is the natural outcome of the moment. A child of revolution, as she is, her Government strangely resembles the provisional government of the Third French Republic.'

In contrast with Turkey, the constitutional development of Egypt has been fraught with attempts to blend alternately the conflicting interests of Great Britain, King Fuad and Radical Nationalists—the Wafdists. And though she has staggered into independence, the British attempt to secure Imperial interests in Egypt by opportune treaty negotiations and political influence, created a division between the monarchy and the people. As a result, democratic principles were found to be broken not unoften in Egypt, and in the opinion of the author, "though Egypt has a constitution in letters, she is far from parliamentary government as the North Pôle is from the South."

The present Government of Sudan is the outcome of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreements of 1899 and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The country is administered by a Governor-General who is appointed by the Decree of the King of Egypt on the recommendation of the British Government and who could be removed by the similar process. The Governor-General exercises both the Legislative and Executive power. In the latter, he is assisted by a Council like that of the Executive Council

of the Governor-General of India. "Though the Government is thoroughly autocratic in principle," says the author, "yet, it must be admitted, devolution and decentralisation are gradually becoming the key-note of the British policy in the Sudan."

Afghanistan has also turned over a new leaf from the unsettled position in which she found herself during the latter half of the nineteenth century when the two mighty Powers—Czarist Russia and Great Britain—were having a bout of diplomacy in the endeavour of extending their dominion over the country. The famous Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 however, set Afghanistan at ease with regard to her territorial integrity and after a period of civil war when Nadir Shah occupied the throne, things began to look bright in Afghanistan.

Iraq which groped her way from Mandate to independence has a constitutional history almost analogous to that of Egypt. She has been able, however, to set up a constitution through the intervention of the League of Nations. This has provided her with a constitutional hereditary monarchy and the semblance of a representative form of Government subject to the terms of Mandate and the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that in the face of evolution Iraq retains her Moslem character and ideals much more than Turkey or Iran.

Saudi Arabia originally existing within the Turkish Empire, has been moulded into her present form of an independent kingdom by Ibn Saud who is the proclaimed King of the country. Ibn Saud has been able to unite the nomadic tribes of the desert into a political group and has granted them a constitution. The entire administration of the country, however rests in his hands, and as a monarch he is only bound by Shara Laws. It is more or less a personal government, but it is a government of strong benevolent despotism and as such, has succeeded in establishing law and order on a permanent basis. So much so, that it, in the opinion of the author "may well prove the nucleus of an All-Arabia Federation in the very heart of the Moslem world that spreads from the Gibralter in the West to China and Sumatra in the East."

In conclusion, we may say, in the words of the author, "One interesting result of the national movement in the Near and Middle East is this that all the important Islamic States possess written Constitutions with separation of powers and the fundamental rights of the people specifically mentioned." The question only is as to how far these paper rights are respected in practice. The author writing from constitutional documents only cannot throw any light on this subject.

We have no hesitation in saying that the book which incidentally presents a comprehensive view of the British policy in the Near and the Middle East has added to our store of information in respect of Islamic countries.

S. C. B.

Ourselves

[*I. Professor Hiralal Haldar.—II. Hirendranath Dutt.—III. Professor Subodhchandra Mahalanobis.—IV. The Higher Secondary Examination of the Nizam's Dominions.—V. The Alfred Clarke Edwards Scholarship.—VI. "Production of Acids Generally from Molases."—VII. Darbhanga Scholarship.—VIII. Results of the Matriculation Examination, 1942.*]

I. Professor Hiralal Haldar

We regret to announce the death of Professor Hiralal Haldar. By his demise the world of scholarship has sustained a great loss. He began his educational career in the Krisnanath College, Berhampore, and later worked as a Professor of Philosophy in the City College, Calcutta. In 1921 he joined the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University as University Professor of Philosophy and at the time of his retirement in 1934 he was holding George V Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy of the University. As a teacher, Professor Haldar enjoyed a great reputation and as a scholar he was held in the highest esteem and was regarded as an authority in certain fields of Western philosophy. His work on Neo-Hegelianism not only brought him international appreciation but reflected great credit upon the institution, of which he was the product and which he served so conscientiously. Not only as a teacher but in other responsible capacities also he was intimately associated with the working of the University. He was a member of its Senate for a number of years (from 1913 to 1938) and was for some time the President of the Post-Graduate Council in Arts. With the *Calcutta Review* his connection was long and intimate. Both as a contributor and as a member of the Managing Committee, he rendered most valuable services to this journal. His was a life dedicated to study and to teaching. The void that his death creates in the domain of education and culture will be hard to fill.

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II. Hirendranath Dutt

The death of Sj. Hirendranath Dutt has been announced. One of the most brilliant students of this University, he chose law as his profession and practised for nearly half a century as a solicitor in

Calcutta. But though a very learned and acute lawyer, his profession did not absorb his interests. In the earlier years of his life he took a prominent part in the political movement of the country. But he devoted most of his spare time to intellectual and cultural pursuits. His acquaintance with our literature, both ancient and modern, might excite the envy of professional scholars. His knowledge of philosophy, and particularly Indian philosophy, was profound. His interest in education was not limited to the National Council of Education, of which he was for years a Secretary and latterly the senior Vice-President. As a follower and co-adjutor of the late Mrs. Annie Besant, he also helped in the foundation of the Central Hindu College, Benares, which became the nucleus of the Benares Hindu University. The University of Calcutta appointed him Kamala Lecturer in 1937 and the lectures which he delivered in this capacity on " Indian Culture—Its Strands and Trends (A Study in Contrast)" have been published by it. The University also awarded to him the Jagattarini Gold Medal in the same year, in appreciation of the great services he had rendered to our literature. By his death Bengal has lost a great son and the world of literature and culture an erudite and finished scholar.

* * *

III. Professor Subodhchandra Mahalanobis

Professor Subodhchandra Mahalanobis, B.Sc., F.R.S.E., has retired from the Department of Physiology, of which he was the Head. The Executive Committee has on the occasion of his retirement placed on record its deep appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Mahalanobis as Professor and Head of the Department of Physiology. Further, the Executive Committee has recommended to the Senate that Mr. Mahalanobis be appointed Emeritus Professor of Physiology. The Syndicate has similiarly appreciated the valuable services of Professor Mahalanobis during all the years of his connection with the University and recommended to the Senate his appointment as Emeritus Professor.

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IV. The Higher Secondary Examination of the Nizam's Dominions

The University, in taking action on a letter of the Assistant Secretary, Board of Secondary Education, Hyderabad (Deccan), has decided to recognise the Higher Secondary Examination of the Board as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of this University.

V. The Alfred Clarke Edwards Scholarship

Mr. A. C. Edwards, who was the Registrar of this University from 1899 to 1901, left by will £2,206-15-8 to this University, so that it might found a scholarship after his name. Mr. Edwards died in 1916 but the will became effective after the death of Mrs. Edwards in 1940. The University has accepted the gift.

* * *

VI. "Production of Acids Generally from Molasses"

The scheme of work in connection with the above subject had been undertaken in the University Chemical Laboratories, Lahore, under the auspices of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India. The Director of the Board, however, enquired if the work could be undertaken in the Science College Laboratories, Calcutta, under the direction of Professor B. C. Guha. Prof. Guha is agreeable to undertake the responsibility and the University has accepted the proposal.

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VII. Darbhanga Scholarship

On the recommendations of the Faculty of Medicine the University has awarded the Maharaja of Darbhanga Scholarship for the year 1942 to Mr. Baridbaran Sen, M Sc., M.B.B.S., on the usual terms. Mr. Sen is required to carry on researches in Mineral Metabolism in the Physiological Department of the Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta.

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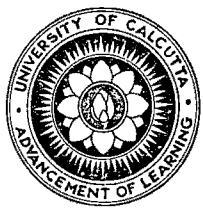
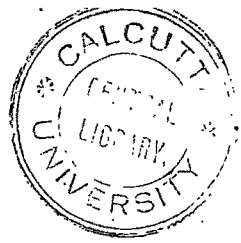
VIII. Results of the Matriculation Examination, 1942

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1942, was 43,317. Of them 723 were absent, and 23 were disallowed. Those who actually sat for the examination numbered 42,571, of whom 136 were expelled. 26,586 were successful in the examination. 1,651 passed in the First Division; 4,627 in the Second Division and 20,255 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 62·5, the percentage in 1941 being 55·16.





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THE ROWLATT REPORT AND ITS RECEPTION

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

WHEN the War of 1914-1918 came, Sir Reginald Craddock, Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was responsible for the Defence of India Act which was accepted by the Indian non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council as a war emergency measure. Under its provisions, very wide powers for internment without trial and restrictions, on the liberty of individuals in writing, speech and movement were accorded to the Executive. In the corresponding law in England, such measures were to be taken against persons of hostile origin or associations whereas in India they were usable against any subject of the King-Emperor. Tribunals for the trial of offences under this Act were composed of commissioners below the status of High Court Judges, who, abolishing all preliminary proceedings, could take direct cognisance of them and could sit without juries. There was no right of appeal against any sentence passed by them and their powers of punishment included the death sentence.

It was found that by utilising the rules made under the Defence of India Act and the existing State Prisoners' Regulations, the number of terrorist outrages for the whole of India from January, 1917, to February, 1918, was 10 only ("India in 1917-18", p. 158). Government held that the revolutionary movement had been driven

underground and might re-appear at any time and so its hands had to be strengthened.

As a preliminary to it, Government appointed the Sedition Committee on the 10th December, 1917, with Mr. Justice Sidney Rowlatt as its President. It was asked

" (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India and (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them."

The Committee submitted its report to Government on the 15th April, 1918, which was published on the 18th July, 1918. With the exception of four sittings at Lahore, the Committee held all its sittings in Calcutta.

Mr. Justice Rowlatt in his letter addressed to the Government of India said,

" As directed by the order appointing us, we have in every occasion sat *in camera*."

It therefore follows that the public had no information of the nature of the evidence presented before the Committee or the names of those who gave it. These witnesses did not have the correctness of such statements as may have been made by them tested by cross examination on behalf of the public whose civic rights and liberties were proposed to be seriously curtailed under its recommendations. In fact, the public was totally unrepresented before the Committee.

The Rowlatt Recommendations

Basing its conclusions on the evidence which was placed before it almost exclusively from official sources and giving full weight to the success with which revolutionary activities had been combated by the use of a temporary measure like the Defence of India Act, the Rowlatt Committee decided that " the principal requirement of the situation was the strengthening of the ordinary machinery of law and order in such a fashion as to lend it permanently something of that power which it temporarily had acquired when buttressed by the Defence of India Act."

After reviewing the revolutionary conspiracies in India as a whole, the participation of the Bengal terrorists in German plots

the unsuccessful attempts at the smuggling of arms and the plans for organising an insurrection on an All-India basis, the Rowlatt Committee made various suggestions for meeting the situation created by the sedition movement. Among other things, it recommended the internment of suspects by Provincial Governments without trial and the appointment of special courts of three judges, without juries or assessors to try sedition cases in notified areas with no right of appeal.

The official view was that it was difficult to secure evidence such as would be acceptable to a court of law operating under normal conditions hence the necessity of special courts with special powers as also powers of internment which would enable the local authorities to put away temporarily any person or persons whose presence or influence seemed to or was likely to cause trouble.

While no one can deny that such measures would achieve the results aimed at, we must not forget that if the police, say of London, enjoyed legal powers which would enable it to arrest and imprison indefinitely without any trial, every suspected burglar, burglaries would, for the time being, diminish but it is also equally certain that a very large number of innocent people would be behind the bars. Under such circumstances, the question would be whether such a measure would find public approval, and if it was condemned whether it would not be withdrawn in any country which enjoyed representative Government and could make public opinion felt in the legislature.

Political India immeditely entered its emphatic protest against the adoption of proposals such as these on the ground that it denied the internee the right to be tried openly and by his peers which is the very foundation of the judicial system.

Indians who unanimously condemned violent crimes, resented also unanimously any measure which they felt was meant for Indians only, measures which no British statesman, however courageous, would dare propose to the Parliament for similar purposes in Great Britain. The recommendations made seemed, in the eyes of people holding such views, to suggest that it practically amounted to treating Indians not as citizens entitled to the enjoyment of ordinary civic rights and liberties but as subjects of administration. This offended Indian sentiments and strengthened the opposition against the Rowlatt recommendations.

Attention was drawn to the fact that in the opinion of the Rowlatt Committee itself only "a handful of desperate men" scattered all

over India were responsible for terrorist outrages. During the discussions in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 12th March, 1919, the Home Member admitted this but he said that very wide powers had to be given to the Executive to deal with them as they " had done much to discredit the loyalty of the great body of the citizens in the past." Political India held that, in view of the smallness of their number and the slenderness of their resources, there was no necessity for the adoption of such drastic steps inasmuch as they could be easily dealt with under the ordinary laws. And the inability of the police, if it could not detect these few men, was no excuse for the adoption of measures which would make it possible for them to harass all and sundry, thus inconveniencing comparatively large numbers of men through no fault of their own.

The C.I.D. and the Rowlatt Recommendations

It was pointed out that though the Rowlatt Committee had toured through different parts of India staying in each place for a short time only, it had not succeeded in establishing any very close contact with men really qualified to place at its disposal all the materials which only would have enabled it to come to a correct estimate of the sedition situation as a whole.

From many responsible quarters came the suggestion that the major part of the information on which the findings had been based had been supplied by the Criminal Investigation Department. It was to its interest that Government should continue to enjoy extralegal powers such as those recommended by the Rowlatt Committee and rely on its members for the evidence on which to take action against suspects.

How the Criminal Investigation Department occasionally used its position and hoodwinked the higher officials was exposed about the middle of 1917, when a very brilliant product of the Calcutta University who was desirous of competing for the Imperial Finance Examination was not nominated as a candidate by the Government of Bengal because he was falsely charged by the C.I.D. of sympathising with the terrorists.

At least people in Bengal are aware that a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta, was sent up for trial before the Special Tribunal presided over by the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High

Court. Lord Sinha (then Sir Satyendra Prosad Sinha), as Advocate General, conducted the case for the prosecution. Convinced about the innocence of this lad, he himself called the Head of the Oxford Mission to prove an alibi. The youth was acquitted inspite of all attempts made to the contrary by the C.I.D.

The judgment stated "the attempt of the police to connect the innocent lad with a dastardly crime had failed."

The learned Judges suggested an enquiry into the police evidence. Those guilty may, for all we know, have been punished departmentally but the public does not know anything about it.

Tagore who had been honoured with a knighthood was also suspected. A special C.I.D. officer was permanently stationed at the Bolpur Railway station through which one has to go to Santiniketan the home of Viswabharati, the centre of Indian culture and learning built up by him. The duty of this officer was to shadow this gentlest of knights and the inmates of his institution. Another of these gentle knights, Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy, Professor of Chemistry, a great exponent of village industries and specially of khaddar, was the subject of repeated aspersions. There is evidence that even his removal from the service of Government had, at one time, been proposed to the Government of India.

Eminence and Unanimity of the Rowlatt Committee

When the Imperial Legislative Council met at Delhi on the 6th February, 1919, the Viceroy who was presiding opened its proceedings with a speech in which he reviewed generally the position of affairs in India. At the very outset, he referred to the existence of revolutionary organisations and announced that legislation to fight revolution would be brought forward in that session. This would take the form of bills giving effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee His words were:

"These recommendations were unanimous and, coming as they did from persons who command the greatest authority, the Government of India decided that they should be brought before this Council in the shape of the necessary legislative measures. The very important powers which have enabled the public peace and order of India to be preserved during the War will shortly come to an end. It is essential in my judgment that they should be replaced by adequate substitutes.'

The fact that the findings of the Rowlatt Committee emanated from persons commanding "the greatest authority" is not the point at issue, *viz.*, the inherent wrongness of their recommendations What every Indian felt, may be wrongly, was that a Committee of Judges had been set the task of suggesting means by which the ordinary processes of justice would be replaced by extra-legal procedure for the convenience of the Executive merely because processes which have been recognised as proper and essential under every democratic system, had prevented the conviction of suspected people, mainly on account of the inefficiency of its agents, the police.

It was argued that it is no consolation for people who are to be imprisoned without trial and to have their civil rights and liberties curtalied in many other ways, to know that the law under which they suffer is the outcome of the deliberations of persons commanding "the greatest authority" and that they had been "unanimous" in their recommendations.

It was pointed out that, in his criticism of the Advisory Committee of Judges under the Defence of Realms Act enacted in England, as a war emergency measure, a distinguished law lord had said in the House of Lords that "a committee of angels could not be expected to give an important decision if they heard one side of the case only." And this, it was maintained, was what had happened in the case of the evidence placed before the Rowlatt Committee by officialdom and as such their unanimous recommendation regarding the adoption of drastic measures had very little value.

Indian Opposition to Rowlatt Recommendations

The above were some only of the reasons urged by Political India against the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and it opposed them according to strictly constitutional methods. For instance, on the 23rd September, 1918, that is to say about two months after the publication of Rowlatt Committee Report, a non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Council moved a resolution recommending "that the consideration and disposal of the report of the Rowlatt Committee be kept in abeyance and that a thorough and searching enquiry be undertaken by a mixed Committee of an equal number of officials and non-official Indians into the working of the Criminal Investigation Department, including the Central Intelligence Department." This

resolution was opposed by Government and rejected with the help of the official majority.

The Special Congress which met at Bombay towards the end of August, 1918, under the presidentship of Mr. Hassan Imam and where the principal subject under discussion was the Montagu Chelmsford Report had the findings of the Rowlatt Committee before it. In spite of its preoccupation with what was then regarded as more important business, it accepted a resolution condemning the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee.

Like the Special Congress of Bombay, the Delhi Congress in December, 1918, indicated India's attitude to the Rowlatt Committee Report by the adoption of a resolution which made clear the fundamental reason for India's opposition—this resolution reads as follows:

"The recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee if given effect to will interfere with the fundamental rights of the Indian people."

The Congress also expressed the view that the Bill if passed would prejudicially affect the successful working of the constitutional Reform. Further it urged on Government the necessity of immediately repealing the Defence of India Act, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the old Regulations and similar other repressive laws thus making clear its objections to all legislation repressive in character within which category of course the Rowlatt Bill would come.

The emphasis laid on the fact that India expected that she must enjoy certain fundamental rights and that she would struggle hard to retain what she had of them and then would strive to gain more was noticeable in another resolution the relevant part of which is quoted below.

"The first step should be the removal of all hindrance to free discussion, and therefore the immediate repeal of all laws, regulations, and ordinances restricting the free discussion of political questions; and further, the abolition of the laws, regulations and ordinances which confer on the executive the power to arrest, detain, intern, extern or imprison any British subject in India outside the process of ordinary civil or criminal law and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England."

The Muslim League also condemned the recommendations of the Rowlatt Act at its special and normal sessions in 1918. The

relevant resolutions being similar to those of the Congress are not quoted here.

Sir Valentine Chirol in his "India Old & New" (p. 171) refers to the opinion of a staunch Moderate on the Rowlatt recommendations. This gentleman, it may be added, took the lead in the Bombay Presidency in opposing Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Co-operation Movement and engaged in a controversy in the public press with Gandhiji, detailed information about which is available in the files of "Young India". Referring to the opinion expressed by him, Sir Valentine says:

"Even an Indian judge of undeniably moderate views, Sir Narain Chandavarkar, declared that such measures were no longer required, as, with the advent of constitutional reforms, revolutionary agitation would, he believed, cease, and, as a warm supporter of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, he felt bound to protest against legislation so entirely at variance with the spirit in which the Report had been conceived and with the expectation which it had aroused."

From what has appeared already, it is evident that even at the Report stage, typical Moderates who were far from being agitators were against the recommendations, that non-official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council wanted postponement of the consideration of its proposals and that Political India had condemned it through its two most representative organisations. Government had therefore ample materials before it on which to come to a wise decision provided of course it was at all desirous of carrying public opinion with it when it was contemplating the introduction of controversial legislation.

Rightly or wrongly, the attitude behind the Rowlatt recommendations were regarded by Political India as foreshadowing the resistance the India Government was prepared to offer to the granting of any measurable amount of political concession to India. This suspicion arose because though the Montagu-Chelmsford Report had been published within a few days of the Rowlatt Report, India had, up to that time, no information as to the way in which its recommendations would be given effect to or when the Bill embodying them would come up for consideration before Parliament. India apprehended that what it regarded as unusual delay was caused by the unwillingness of the India Government to accept the suggestions emanating from England whence the slowness with which the

negotiations were being conducted with the British Government in order to arrive at a common agreement. This feeling aggravated the bitterness against the reactionary suggestions of the Rowlatt Report.

Political India's Constructive Suggestion

The Report of the Rowlatt Committee stated that a very small body of miscreants, whom it is fashion to call anarchists, were responsible for the sporadic outrages which were perpetrated in different parts of India. It is, however, debatable whether they were believers in the tenets of anarchism properly so called. These crimes had a double aim—to embarrass the administration and to enforce their views by murder and other outrages. The history of Ireland presents a parallel in the case of those generally known as the Moonlighters and the Invincibles. No one thought of them or called them anarchists.

Like these Irish criminals, their Indian imitators derived their importance from two considerations. They compelled Government to have recourse to repressive laws and induced in it an attitude of denial towards the proposals for political advancement put forward by the sober-minded section of Indian politicians. This is proved by the disfavour generally shown towards the Montagu-Chelmsford Report by the British officials—a matter referred to previously. The attitude thus forced on Government naturally enough increased the existing discontent thus enabling the terrorists to gain their object of enlisting the sympathy of the public. It is not therefore surprising that the less far-sighted section of the people came to regard them as self-sacrificing if erring patriots.

Writing in the eighties of the last century, while referring to the people of India, J. R. Seeley in his "Expansion of England" said:

"We find a population which by habit and long tradition is absolutely passive, which has been dragonnaded by foreign military Governments, until the very conception of resistance has been lost. We find also a population which has no sort of unity, in which nationalities lie in layers, one under another, and languages wholly unlike each other are brought together by composite dialects caused by fusion. In other words, it is a population which for the present is wholly incapable of any common action. As I said, if it had a

spark of that corporate life which distinguishes a nation, it could not be held in such a grasp as we lay upon it. But there is no immediate prospect of such a corporate life springing up in it."

It is not necessary for our present purposes to examine the correctness of the views put forward by this author. Political India has always held that it was the duty of Government to ascertain why terrorism should have appeared even among a small fraction of such a peaceful people. It is contended that all the blame for this state of affairs cannot be laid on the shoulders of the agitators or terrorists. Their activities evoke no response where the stomachs of the masses are full and where their natural leaders feel that they enjoy fairly adequate facilities for the ventilation and redress of their legitimate social, economic and political grievances.

It is worth remembering in this connection that while discontent has manifested itself through terrorism in such countries as Spain and Italy where the Government had, in times past, systematically neglected the social and economic disabilities of the people or where it had failed to give adequate expression to the popular will in the political sphere, it has never appeared in England where the contrary is the case.

The existence of such men in Spain and Italy was symptomatic of grave disease in the body politic. Like vermin which breeds only where dirt exists, these terrorists appeared and flourished only because there was grave discontent in their motherland. The fault lay with their administration which had failed to realise that these countries had advanced to the extent that the people were no longer satisfied with the *status quo*. Not repression but adherence to the policy given effect to in England has invariably constituted the most satisfactory method of solving this problem.

The conclusion following from the above instances is that, all over the world, economic and political grievances have been responsible for revolutionary movements and that India was no exception to this rule. Political India maintained that the administration had failed in its duty when it refused to enquire into and to remove the causes of terrorism adopting in its place the far easier method of enacting drastic laws such as those adumbrated in the Rowlatt Report.

In its view, Indian terrorism was the result of two factors. Its immediate cause was the opinion held very largely by people in general that the British Government was unwilling to hand over political

power to India. The terrorists felt that constitutional agitation had proved unsuccessful in persuading Government to adopt a more liberal policy, and that the time had therefore come when pressure in some form had to be applied. It was a misfortune for them and for India that they were misguided to the extent that they thought that this pressure should take the form of terrorism.

The remote cause was economic distress. Western education had created an educated middle class which could not possibly find a sufficient number of openings for earning its bread. One reason for this was our backwardness in industry, trade and commerce. Some among the discontented middle-class intelligentsia felt that a change in the administration would mean a change in their prospects for a national Government was bound to take steps to solve the unemployment problem.

It was Machiavelli who said "Never let a prince complain of the faults of the people under his rule, for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example." The suggestion of Political India was that the correct solution of the problem created by terrorism was the granting of more extensive political power to India thus taking away the immediate excuse for terrorism and the encouragement of Indian trade, industry and commerce, so as to create a larger number of openings for the middle-class intelligentsia. It held that legislation based on the Rowlatt recommendations which, like the Defence of India Act, might readily lend itself to abuse, was no solution of the problem. This was one of the reasons for its condemnation of the Report. This suggestion, however, did not find favour with Government.

Government Attitude to Indian Opposition

In view of the services she had rendered to Britain in the war and also in view of the unanimity with which every section of political thought had given expression to feelings of loyalty to Britain, India had expected that the Government of India would show its wisdom by shelving the Rowlatt report and relying on the ordinary laws of the land to deal with the terrorist menace. It was therefore not only a grievous disappointment but also a source of grave discontent when it was realised that Government was determined to accept and to give effect to its drastic recommendations.

It was unfortunate that though warnings had come from every quarter, they were deliberately ignored. This is evident from what is said on page 27 of "India in 1919," published under the authority of the Government of India.

"The only thing which would have accomplished this end of satisfying India was the withdrawal of the Bills; but since the administration agreed with the Rowlatt Commission in believing that the machinery of law and order stood in dire need of being strengthened, this course was inconsistent with the responsibilities which the Government of India owed to His Majesty's Government."

How lame all this sounds after more than two decades! The "necessity" felt by the Home Member and the "dire need" referred to in the Government of India publication mentioned above for strengthening the machinery of law and order, were proved when, later on, it was found unnecessary to utilise the provisions of the Rowlatt Act even once during the three years it was the law of the land from March 1919 to March 1922 and when it was removed from the Statute Book by the new Council elected under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms without any protest from Government spokesmen!

Some Explanations of Government Attitude.

The India Government, in the language of "India in 1919" (p. 25), "found it difficult to realise the strength of the feeling which suspicion had aroused in the minds of the educated classes" with the consequence that "the depth of the feelings aroused against the Bills (when they were introduced) came as a complete surprise to those who were responsible for pressing them upon the attention of Government." It could not understand and would not admit that such powers might be abused, a matter of which India had already some experience.

Among the various explanations put forward for the obstinacy of the India Government in adhering to the policy to which it had committed itself, we have the statement of the Home Member that it was the desire to maintain law and order and the responsibility Government owed to the loyal section of Indians who formed the majority of the population which compelled it to implement the Rowlatt recommendations. As against this we have some uncharitable Indians who suggested that the refusal of British officials to listen to reason was really due to the fear of loss of prestige, so valuable an asset for an alien bureaucracy.

Another explanation put forward at that time in the Imperial Legislative Council was that non-Indian officialdom had lost its nerve through fear of assassination and felt so helpless before the terrorists that it sought protection by the enactment of drastic laws. If this was the correct explanation, a view with which the present writer does not agree, one can only suggest that men so unlike their predecessors who founded the British Empire were not fit to rule a country like ours where the majority of the population is peaceful and docile by nature and that unless officials possessing more courage and self-reliance were available, the time had come when the British should leave the shores of India.

It is also possible that the Police about the efficiency of which we hear so much, in spite of large additions to its number, found itself quite unable to cope with the situation created by a few hundreds of hot-headed, foolish and desperate extremists and that drastic laws were necessary in order to strengthen their hands. If so, one might compare this attitude to that of the fond parent who said, " Lower the standard of examination because my son cannot pass now." In effect the British administration said, " My police connot collect evidence ; kindly make the law more rigorous and relax the rules of evidence,"—the most damaging admission that could be made when we remember the praise heaped on the efficiency of the Police in and out of season.

Whatever the explanation, there cannot be any doubt that the decision of the Government of India was a most unfortunate one leading as it did to serious misunderstandings between India and Britain.

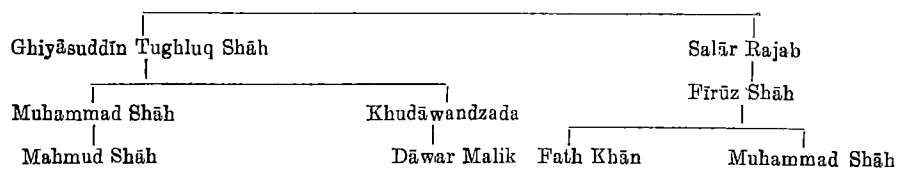
FĪRUZ TUGHLUQ AS SEEN IN HIS MONUMENTS AND COINS

S. K. BANERJI
Reader, Lucknow University

FĪRŪZ Shāh, Muhammad Tughluq's cousin,[1] was in Tattah with the Sultān at the time of his death in March, 1351. He had been carefully trained by the late king[2] in the art of government[3] and in the Sultan's last years, when he was campaigning in the south, acted as one of his deputies in Delhi.[4] At the time of the Sultan's death, Fīrūz was forty-two years[5] and with his experience of the world was not at all desirous of succeeding to the uneasy throne of Delhi, and rather longed to retire into seclusion. But the imperial troops numbering some two lacs of men, left leaderless by the death of their dreaded Sultan and threatened by the Mughal assailants and the Gujrati rebels and also by their doubtful Sindhi and Mughal allies, were in constant danger of annihilation. So feeling the need of an adult leader, they opposed Muhammad's sister Khudawandzāda's claims for her child, Dawar Malik, and proposed Fīrūz Shāh for the throne of Delhi. The latter's unwillingness was overruled by a deputation of the nobles and the leading divines of the Delhi kingdom and he ascended the throne on 23rd March, 1351, after three days of his cousin's death.

The arduous task of safely conducting his army back to Delhi took him several months and at last he approached the capital. There the Chief Minister, Ahmad Ayāz Khwāja Jahān, had already declared a child brought up in the royal palace as the late king's son and

[1] The Tughluq genealogy is as follows—



[2] Fīrūz's father, Rajab the Sipahsalar, had died when Fīrūz was only seven years old.

[3] According to Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf, in his last days Muhammad had divided his kingdom into four parts, one part being placed under Fīrūz.

[4] See Afīf in *Elliot and Dowson* (*E.D.*) *III*, 278.

[5] Afīf gives Fīrūz's year of birth to be 709 A.H. (1309 A.D.),

enthroned him under the title of Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd.[1] In Fīrūz's camp none believed in the existence of any such son and Fīrūz who had been reluctant to accept the crown now felt the deception that was played by the Khwāja on the public of Delhi and so he marched through Dipalpur, Ajodhan, Sirsuti and Ikdar[2] and was joined by people of all classes including the second chief nobleman of Delhi, Qiwāmulmulk Khan Jahan. The Khwāja who probably bore no ill-will against the new Sultan, now realized his error and, against the advice of his chief adherents, decided to throw himself on the king's mercy. Fīrūz was willing to overlook the rebel's faults and prevailed upon his chief adherents, bitterly hostile to the Khwāja, to agree to a grant of *jagir* in Samana and make him settle there. But the Khwāja did not escape the hand of the assassin. A single discontented nobleman, Sher Khan, determined on his destruction, overtook him a few stages from Fathabad and slew him. The Sultan next halted at Hansi and reached Delhi on 25th August, more than five months after his cousin's death.

Let us take up the coins of the reign. It is interesting to know that during the few months that Ghiyāsuddīn-Mahmūd ruled, Khwāja Jahān issued a fairly large number of gold, silver and copper coins of the type associated with Balban or Alāuddīn Khalji, the only modification introduced being an Arabic marginal legend. The purity of the coins is a noticeable feature.

The early coins of Fīrūz Shah's reign like those of Muhammad Tughluq bear the name of the Khalifa of Cairo. The late Sultan had called Al Hakīm Bamr Allāh Abul Abbās Ahmad (741-53 A.H.) Al Imam[3] and Amīr-ul-muminīn and he died while Al Hakim was ruling in Cairo. Fīrūz followed his predecessor's practice, the only modification being the addition of his own name in the legend. After Al Hakīm's death Fīrūz substituted the name of his successor Abul Fath Al Mutazid[4] Billāh Abū Bakr (753-63 A.H.) and Al Mutawakkil Ali Allah Abu Abdullāh Muhammad.

[1] *The Cambridge History of India* (*C.H.I.*), *III*, wrongly calls him Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad. The correct title is given in his coins, See N. Wright's *The Sultans of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology*. According to Afīf, the Khwāja had placed Mahmūd on the throne as he had heard of Muhammad's death and also of Fīrūz's disappearance. See *E.D.*, *III*, 279. Having once declared for Mahmud, he continued to support him.

[2] Renamed Fathabad in honour of his eldest son, Fath Khan, born there.

[3] These Khalifas belonged to the Shia sect,

[4] N. Wright wrongly calls him Al Mutasid on p. 173 of his book.

The gold coins of the last five years, 795-9 A.H., make no mention of any Khalifa and record the name of Fīrūz Shah as the Sultan instead of *As-Sultani* and as the deputy of the Amir of the Faithful. But they are as good as the earlier coins in purity of metal and of the same weight. Many of the bullion coins from 759 to 789 A.H. mention the name of the Khalifa in addition to that of the Sultan.

At the end of his reign, we find other princes of the family associated with Fīrūz Shāh in the conduct of the Government. The two princes that mentioned are Fath Khān, Fīrūz's eldest son and Muhammad Shāh as illustrated from the coins of the day.

In some of Muhammad's coins, the word 'Naib' is used showing that he was his father's deputy.

Similarly after Fīrūz's death, his grandson, Zafar Khān, mentioned the Sultān's name and also that of the reigning Khalifa, Abu Abdullāh, on his coins.[1] Such posthumous coins were also issued by Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd II, Khizr Khān and Sayyid Mubārak Shāh and the dates of issue range from 799 to 835 A.H.

Let us turn to the monuments of the reign. Muhammad's corpse was brought to Tughluqābad and buried in the mausoleum of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh between his father and mother, Makhdūma-i-Jahān During her lifetime she had controlled her son's ferocity though in her last days she had led a miserable life owing to the total loss of her eye-sight.

A recent writer complains of the indifference with which Muhammad's funeral was treated.[2] Fīrūz was helpless in the matter. He had to face so many problems concerning administration and finance that he could not spare any time or money for raising a large edifice on his cousin's tomb and so he buried him in a building of which the late Sultan must have been proud. Next Fīrūz appeased with suitable compensations the heir of those executed in Muhammad's reign or had themselves suffered in limb or disfigurement of face. On their appeasement deeds of satisfaction were obtained and collected in a chest were placed in Muhammad's tomb. In securing the deeds from the vast number of the sufferers in the late reign, Fīrūz must have spent a considerable amount of money. He did all this

[1] See Whitehead : *catalogue of the collection of coins illustrative of the history of the rulers of Delhi in the Delhi Museum.*

[2] See A. M. Husain's *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, 212.

for the benefit of the departed soul of his benefactor, friend and patron. [1]

Next he declared it as the Dār-ul-amān, the House of rest of the great and of safety for those criminals who took shelter there. In Balban's time Qala-i-Marzgān and in Shah Jahān's time the Taj enclosure served a similar purpose. It speaks in favour of Fīrūz that he made a sanctuary of his patron's tomb even though he knew full well how little he deserved the honour.

Afther his return to Delhi in 1356 from Bengal, he removed his capital to Fīrūzābād in the north-east of Sīrī and extended his new city as far north as the *Kushk-i-shikār* where one of Asoka's pillars removed in Fīrūz's reign still stands. The city has mostly disappeared due to the foundation of the later Shāh Jahānābād on the old site, but the citadal known as *the Kotla-i-Fīrūz Shāh* still exists. We owe to the archaeological department that its debris have been removed and the place beautified as a garden and pleasure resort.

The Kotla-i-Fīrūz Shāh situated on the bank of the river Jumna, on the site of the other village, Gawin, has all the characteristics of the Tughluq age. The enclosing red walls were built of excellent sandstones obtained from the old deserted buildings in the neighbourhood of Sīrī, Jahānpanāh and Qala-i-Rāi Pithaura. In order to accelerate the progress of the work, all the local traders were ordered to send free for a day draught animals loaded with bricks and other building materials to the new city. The fortifications though not so gigantic as those of Tughluqābād look massive and formidable, the slope of the walls has been accentuated and they have been loopholed in more than one row. Some of the loopholes could serve no purpose for they were surrounded—probably at a later date—by other walls and they faced other well-guarded enclosures. Fīrūz next proceeded to make adequate arrangements for the supply of water to the residents of the citadel. Though situated on the bank of a river, he built wells and *bāolis* and provided it in 1356 with a canal from Sirmoor.

Mr. Page, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Department has drawn a plan of the buildings in the *Kotla*. [2] Asoka's *Lāt* and the Jami Masjid form two of the works. The *Lāt* was removed from Khizrābād situated ninety *cos* from Delhi to its present site. *The*

[1] See *the Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* in *E.D. III* 386.

[2] See the Archaeological Survey of India (A.S.I), memoirs No. 52 on Kotla-i Fīrūz Shah, Delhi by J-A Page.

Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī[1] describes this *mīnār-i-zarrīn*, the golden pillar, so named from the gilded copper cupola placed at its top. The king had added also ornamental frieses in black and white stone.[2] It is a pity that anxious as Fīrūz was to decipher the inscriptions on the pillar he could get no aid from the learned Hindus of the time. This pillar along with the other, situated in the *Kushk-i-shikar*, was believed to have been used by Bhīm, the second of the Pāndava brothers to collect his cattle.[3]

Fīrūz built a Jami masjid in the neighbourhood of the pillar, joined the two by an overhanging bridge and made them approachable from the royal palaces situated further south. This enabled the queens and the princesses to offer prayers in the masjid and also to pay occasional visit to the *mīnār-i-zarrīn*. The masjid was two storeyed and had a large number of domes but the upper storey and the domes have all disappeared; nor do we find any trace of the covered well in the centre of the enclosure which was once connected with the Jumna. When Tīmūr came to Delhi, he honoured Fīrūz's memory by offering prayers in his Jami masjid and carrying away a plan of the mosque to serve him a model for his new Jami masjid in Samarqand.[4] Farishta states that around the eight faces of the neck of the main dome were inscribed the king's regulations and his achievements as taken from his autobiography commonly known as *the Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāh*. The mosque was situated on the bank of the river and being a Jami masjid was approachable to many others besides the royalty.

Some of the other buildings in the citadel have been described by Afīf[5] and basing on these descriptions Mr. Page has drawn a plan of them. The most important of them are the three royal courts, called (1) *the Mahal-i-Sahan-i-gilīn, the Mahal-i-dukh* or the *Mahal-i-angūr*, the palace of the clayey quadrangle or of the hanging reeds or of the grapes, (2) the *Mahal-i-chhajja-i-chōbīn*, the palace of the wooden gallery, (3) *the Mahal-i-bār-i ām*, the palace of the public court. The first was meant for the attendance of the Khāns, Maliks,

[1] An anonymous work dated 100-2 A.H. in possession of the Oriental Public library of Bankipore.
[2] See Afīf in *E.D. III 352.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 350.
[4] See *the Farishta (N. K. edition)*, 158, 11 24-5. The writer wrongly makes Muhammad bin Tughluq as the builder of Jami masjid.
[5] See *E D. III*, 343.

Amīrs, officials and distinguished literary men. This one was the nearest to the entrance gateway to the citadel in the west and farthest from the river. The next one was meant for the reception of his slaves and personal attendants. As he loved his slaves and encouraged their presentation by his nobles at the royal interviews, he had gradually collected a vast number of them.[1] It was not practicable to meet them individually and so he built the palace with the wooden gallery for their assemblage. The third, *the Mahal-i-bār-i ām*, also called *the Mahal-i-Sahan-i-miāngī* or palace of the central quadrangle. As the name indicates it was situated between the two other courts and the common people were allowed to enter the citadel as far as this court. Mr. Page locates the *Khās Mahal* or the royal palace on the east of the public court and the residences of the royal women to the south of the king's residence, thus making both of them face the river. From these residences, the king and the princesses would pass by the walled terraces to the Jami masjid or the *Lāt* beyond.

We may notice the following points in this connection:—Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq is one of the earliest Muslim kings in India who met his nobles, subjects and slaves regularly. The institution of *the Jharōka-i-darshan* and the daily routines of the Mughal emperors were further developments of Fīrūz Shāh's practices.

Fīrūz was less exclusive than many other rulers. He came into contact with his subjects and freely allowed them to enter his citadel; and to his slaves and officials he had allowed the further privilege of meeting him in *the Mahal-i sahan-i-gilīn* or *the Mahal-i-chhajja-i-chōbīn*.

He continued the Tughluq style introduced by his predecessors.

His city of Firūzabād was much larger than the late Shah Jahānābād. It contined 150,000 inhabitants, one private and eight public mosques and more than half of the 120 rest houses were situated in the area. Besides Firūzābād, there was the old (Qutb) Delhi where lived another 100,000 men. The flourishing condition of the two cities and the large traffic between them are mentioned by Afīf.[2]

The Asoka obelisk measured 32 *gaz* in Fīrūz's time, of which 8 lay buried under the ground and only 24 were to be seen above the

[1] Reaching the figure of 1,80,000 of whom 1,2000 were artisans, See *Afīf* in *E.D. III*. 341.

[2] See *E.D.III*, 303.

ground. Today it measures 42′ 7″. Beside the seven pillar edicts of Asoka written in *Brahmī* characters, we have the inscriptions of Chāhamāna Vishāldeva, Vigraharaja, dated 1164 and of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī, dated 1524 A.D. There are also two inscriptions in the Gupta script.

Let us now turn to the other works of Fīrūz. He repaired many of the works of his predecessors. Not only did he rebuild the top-most storeys of the Qutb mīnār injured by lightning and raise it higher,[1] but also repaired the *Quwwat-ul-Islam*, the *Hauz-i-shamsī*, *Hauz-i-Alāi* and some of the fortifications and the tombs of the former kings of Delhi.[2] A few observations may be made in this connection.

(*a*) Every historian makes out a long list of Fīrūz's public works. To quote the one given by Farishta– 50 dams of streams, 40 masjids, 30 madrasas, 20 horpices, 100 villas, 5 hospitals, 100 tombs (repaired), 10 bagnios, 150 wells, 100 bridges and innumerable gardens. In the list have not been included any of his canals nor the innumerable towns founded.[3] The superintendents of his works were two Muslims of the Sunnī fold, Malik Ghāzī Shahna, the chief architect, who was granted a gold staff in recognition of his office and Jahir Sundhār entitled Abdul Haqq, the Malik's deputy who was granted a gold axe. One reason for the constructions on such a large scale was the desire of the Sultan to keep the artisans of his kingdom fully occupied.

(*b*) The large expenditure on these works did not exhaust his treasuries. Some of them yielded a good return, *e.g.*, the gardens canals, dams, bagnios and bridges. Afīf mentions that the income of the *doab* in Hindustan under Fīrūz was 80 lacks of *tankas* and of the whole kingdom 685 lacs of which the state gardens contributed 80 thousand.

(*c*) Some writers have noted that Fīrūz does not mention the construction nor the repair of the roads. The conception of metalling a road is essentially a modern one. In Mediaeval India, every well-to-do person rode an animal or used a *palkī* for which no metalled road was needed.

(*d*) Among his repairs, he mentions the Qutb mīnār as that of Sultan Muizuddin Sam.[4] Though Fīrūz repaired the top storeys and

[1] See the author's article in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, 1937, also *A.S.I. Memoirs No. 22*, p. 34.
[2] For the list of repairs, see *E.D. III*, 384.
[3] Afīf makes a mention of some of them.
[4] Usually it is associated with Qutbuddīn Aibak or Shamsuddīn Iltutmish.

increased its height, modern critics have not approved of the rèpairs as an improvement.

(*e*) Probably what he mentions as Iltutmish's tomb, really belonged to his eldest son, Nāsiruddīn Mahumūd, known as Sultan Ghārī from the hollow vault in which the tomb is situated.

(*f*) Fīrūz paid attention to Alāuddīn's sons and mentions besides Qutbuddīn seven others, repaired their tombs, as well as that of Malik Tāj-ul-mulk Kāfūrī, the great minister of Sultan Alāuddīn, who kept 52,000 horsemen of its own.

(*g*) Fīrūz mentions rather vaguely that he had restored Jahān panāh, the city founded by Muhammad bin Tughluq. We know that his minister, Khān Jahān later on built the Khirkī masjid in the locality. Still the city remained neglected and today it is well-nigh imposible to define its boundaries.

To turn to his canals, he dug some five of them, three of which were intended to water and increase the resources of the arid land in the north-west of Delhi, where Hānsī and Hisā Fīrūza were situated. All of them were fairly long, one starting from Dipālpur ended at Jhajjar was 250 miles, another starting from the Satlaj where it emerged from the lower ranges of the Himalayas to Hisār and Hānsī was 180 miles, and a third from Karnal to the two towns, 150 miles. The Jamna canal of Shāh Jahān which carried water to the royal palaces at Delhi and was known as the *Nahr-i-Bahisht* was originally dug by Fīrūz Shāh, starting at Khizrābād and ending at Safedun, sixty-five miles n. n. w of Delhi Shāh Jahān carried it further to the capital. Fīrūz had also made an engineering experiment by engaging some 50,000 labourers to cut the intervening hill and join the hill streams, the Saraswatī and the Markanda Undoubtedly Fīrūz was one of the pioneers in the field of canal engineering in India.

As a pious Muslim he was interested in the Chishtī saints of Delhi. Nizāmuddīn *Aulia* was dead, being succeeded by Nasīruddīn Avadhī who was popularly known as the *chirāgh-i-Delhi*. At Muhammad's death, Nasīruddīn had joined the deputation that waited on Fīrūz to plead for his acceptance of kingship. Fīrūz who was deeply pious showered favours on him and embellished the tomb of his predecessor. The cupola that had been raised by Muhammad on the dead *Aulia's* tomb was now enriched by the addition of arches and latticed screens so that the grave was protected from the vulgar eyes. Similarly he

repaired in 1353 the tomb of Shaikh Salāhuddīn, the late Sultan's spiritual guide [1] and when Nasīruddīn himself died at the hands of a fanatical faqir, Fīrūz raised on his grave a domed edifice in 1373 and hung a gold cup inside the dome. The inscription is in Persian and reads as "This auspicious dome was built in the time of the august dependant on aid from God, the victorious, Fīrūz Shāh the Sultan, may god perpetuate his kingdom. The year 775 A.H."

Similarly he had built the tomb of Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Bahār after his death in 1376. When his own son, Fath Khān died in July, 1374, he built his tomb and to sanctify it brought a stone impression of the Prophet's foot and deposited it there. Even today the water of the adjacent tank is used to wash the sacred stone called the *Qadam-i-Rusul* and then the used water is drunk to invoke blessings. [2]

A few of the chief mosques of Fīrūz's reign are connected with his chief minister, Khān Jahān. His father whom he succeeded in 1373 also bore the same title. There are two masjids founded by the younger Khān Jahān, the Kālī masjid of Nizāmuddīn village and the Khirkī masjid in Jahān Panāh which have a remarkable common feature in that the courtyard is divided into four smaller squares by two pillared arcades interesecting at right angles at its centre. This modification was adopted to provide shelter to the pious votaries from sun or rain. A few years before the construction of the Kālī masjid, a magnificent pile had been raised by Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī at Gulbarga in 1367 which has the unique distinction of being wholly covered so that not only the *līwān* is not open to the sky but also the large court. As it has a large number of entrances on the east south and north, it affords an easy ingress and egress to the worshippers. In summer or during the rains it provided a cool shelter to the votaries but the absence of sunshine and the congregation of a huge crowd in the ill-ventilated area must have been felt as insufferable inconvenience.

Probably as an improvement on this closed Jami masjid of Gulbarga Jauna Shāh now raised the Kālī masjid and seventeen years later the Khirkī masjid. In the new type while shade was provided to the votaries who desired to pass on to the *līwān*, light

[1] See Sayyid Ahmad's *Āsār-us-sanādid*, p. 32.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 38.

and air were not shut out of the area. But this improvement was accompanied by a defect nullitifying the basic principle that governs a Friday gathering. The arcades divided the court into four smaller ones and so the assembly found itself divided, so to say, into four different groups. The religious injunction to the Muslim inhabitants of a city to gather once a week in the cathedral mosque was meant to convey to them an idea of their solidarity and impress them with the largeness of their number. Otherwise for the mere purpose of prayers any smaller mosque would do. This impression of the vastness of the community and the equal status of all its members would not be so fully obtained if the crowd divided itself into four separate groups. Probably for these reasons the experiment twice tried in the Kālī masjid and the Khirkī masjid was finally abandoned.

Let us take the inscription on the first of these two: 'By the mercy and grace of God the Most Holy and Exalted in the reign of the Sultan of the Sultans of the age firm because of aid from God the Compassionate, Abul Muzaffar Fīrūz Shāh may God perpetuate his kingdom and exalt his decrees and dignity, this mosque was built by the son of the slave of the royal household,[1] Jauna Shāh, son of Maqbūl [2] entitled Khān Jahān and also son of a Khān Jahān in the year 772 A.H. May God have compassion on him who offers his prayers in this mosque and remembers the founder with *fātihāh*[3] and prayers for his faith.'

Seventeen years later Khān Jahān built the Khirkī masjid on the same plan, only to beautify it further with turrets and groups of domes in different parts of the terrace.[4] The same minister is also associated with the foundation of the Bēgampurī mosque and the Kalān masjid of Shāh Jahānābād, both of which were built at the same time as the Khirkī masjid. Like the others, these also have the features of the Tughluq style, sloping pillers, Pathan domes, running turrets and absence of decoration. The Kalān masjid bears an inscription almost similar to the one on the Kālī masjid.

The last building of Fīrūz's reign that need be considered is the first Khān Jahān's tomb. Originally a Brahman of Tilangāna, after

[1] For a literal translation see the *A.S.I., No. 10.*

[2] Maqbūl was the name of the father of the younger Khān Jahān and was known as Qiwām-ul-mulk Khān Jahān Maqbūl. See *Baranī* in *E.D. III*, 283.

[3] The opening chapter of the *Qurān* is so named.

[4] The numeral nine seems to acquire some significance in the building; for each group consists of nine domes and there are nine groups in all.

enslavement in one of the Muslim raids he was converted and given the name of Maqbūl. By sheer dint of ability he rose to be one of the chief nobles in Muhammad's reign, when he was known as Qiwam-ul-mulk Khān Jahān. So long as he lived, he faithfully served Fīrūz Shāh and after his death in 770 A.H. (1368-69), as he was a disciple of the Chishtī saints, was buried in Nizāmuddīn village in a large enclosure, now thickly peopled by the *Pīr-zādas* or attendants at the *Aulia's* shrine. Tilangānī's tomb, now occupied by the residents of the neighbourhood, has the credit of being the prototype for the royal tombs of the Sayyid and Lōdī kings and for Īsā Khān Niāzī's tomb.

The minister's tomb may be described briefly. Differring from all previous tombs it is octagonal in shape and measures 74′ on each face; the mortuary chamber is surrounded by a verandah with three open arches on each side; the terrace has nine domes, the central of which is of a fairly large size while eight others are situated at the centre of each face of the octagon; and the building has the characteristics of the Tughluq style. The later tombs mentioned above down to that of Shēr Shāh have all been partly modelled on the minister's tomb. No doubt, being the first attempt it has many defects, *e.g.*, 'the domes both central and subsidiary are too squat, the verandah arches too low and in other respects the elevation lacks symmetry and finish.' These defects are gradually removed in the later buildings and in Shēr Shāh's tomb. We have a magnificent illustration of the height this new form could rise to.

We will conclude with the following observations:—

(1) So long as Fīrūz lived, he was considered not only the leader of the Muslim community[1] but also a saint. His unostentatious and simple life,[2] high principles,[3] love for his subjects, veneration for his predecessers, had endeared him in and outside the country. Hence he was widely imitated, *e.g.*, the ugly Tughluq style because of Fīrūz's support long held the field and took nearly two centuries to completely disappear.[4] Even the embellishments and decorations passed through a long evolutionary course before their final establishment. Impressed by Fīrūz's sanctity, even the world-shaker, Tīmūr, obtained the plan of the Sultan's masjid to build one of a similar design in his own

1 Notice in this connection the title *Sayyid us-Salātīn* conferred on him by the Khalifa.
2 He had removed, for example, all paintings and decoration from the palace walls.
3 He had got them inscribed on the wall's of his Jami masjid.
4 The last building reminiscent of the Tughluq style appears to be *the Khair-ul-manāzil* built in 1561.

capital in central Asia. Fīrūz lies buried to-day surrounded by many others who lived either in his time or came afterwards. They all considered the burial ground to be sacred because of its association with the Sultan and so were eager to be buried in his vicinity.

(2) It is the Sultan's greatness that reflected some brilliance on his minister, Khān Jahān, also and the latter's tomb formed an artistic model for the later Sayyid and Lodi kings.

(3) In most of his works and regulations, Fīrūz was actuated by a consideration of the people's welfare. His own routine was guided by such a consideration and his public works were intended to increase the resources of the land.

(4) Though weak as ruler and grown somewhat imbecile at the close of his reign, his nobles, even when they were powerful *jāgīrdārs* or governors, continued to maintain their cordial relations with him. It is only when this bond of love broke with his death that the most important of them separated from the Delhi kingdom and made themselves independent potentates.

THE CRIPPS MISSION * : A REVIEW

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I propose to say a few words on *The Cripps Mission.* At the very outset, however, I should like to make it clear that it is not my purpose now to say anything on Sir Stafford Cripps's mission to India in the spring of 1942, as such, but to review a pamphlet, recently published by the Oxford University Press, entitled *The Cripps Mission.* The author of this pamphlet is Mr. R. Coupland, Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. Under the auspices of Nuffield College he came to India " last autumn " to study its constitutional problem. He had spent four months in this country and " was on the point of returning home to draft " his " report when Sir Stafford Cripps arrived." At the request of Sir Stafford he stayed on and joined his staff. He was thus enabled to observe Sir Stafford's mission at close quarters. Although, says the author, the mission " cannot yet be seen in its true historical perspective," yet it seemed to him " worth while to attempt a brief record of it " while his " impressions were still fresh." Sir Stafford has allowed him " to do this on the understanding that it is a personal and wholly unofficial record and that for the statements and opinions it contains the responsibility is solely " of the author. This appears to have been the genesis of the pamphlet.

It must be admitted that the pamphlet presents, in a compact form, a large mass of information relating to the Indian constitutional problem. Its style is crisp and its mode of treatment of the issues raised in it is both skilful and interesting. Altogether, the pamphlet is a readable one.

In the earlier part of the pamphlet, the author has tried to maintain the detached attitude of a historian. Thus, speaking about India's participation in the War, he has said, among other things,

* *The Cripps Mission* : By R. Coupland. *Oxford University Press.* Pp. 64. Price As. 12.

that " in administration, in military service, in war production the Indian war effort has been as great as the limiting conditions have permitted." " Nevertheless," he continues, " India has not been and is not at war in the same sense as the other Allied countries are at war. . . . Indian public opinion has regarded the war from its outset with a divided mind." This division of mind is, according to him, partly due to the division of important sections of the Indian people " between pacifists and ' activists ', " and partly due to a " conflict between two hatreds—hatred of Nazi aggression and brutality and hatred of British imperialism."

Further, the author has admitted that, " since the outbreak of the war the distrust, which for more than twenty years had clouded the attitude of Indian nationalists to Britain, had become deeper than it had ever been " ; and that this " distrust of British intentions " to which the war has " unfortunately " given " a new and sharper age," is not, " unhappily " " confined, as it used to be, to nationalist circles." In this connexion, he has very rightly observed that " it is difficult to exaggerate the disquieting effect of one particular incident—Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1941, that the Atlantic Charter was primarily intended to apply to Europe." " On this occasion," he writes, " a feeling, if not of distrust, at least of a new and uncomfortable suspicion, began to spread beyond nationalist circles," and it seemed to him " more than probable, too, that many of the young Indians who were obtaining commissions in the fast-expanding Indian Army were affected by something of the same uneasiness about the future."

I shall now pass on to consider Professor Coupland's views on the Draft Declaration which embodied the British War Cabinet's conclusions in regard to our constitutional problem. This Draft Declaration was made public by Sir Stafford at his fourth Press Conference held at Delhi on the 29th March, 1942 ; and Professor Coupland has observed that " the historian of to-morrow may well date the Declaration of Indian Independence on March 29, 1942." There is certainly some force in this observation. Although it is true that the Draft Declaration did not, as contrasted with what is popularly known as the " August Offer " (1940), represent a radical change of policy on the part of the British Government—and Sir Stafford himself admitted this—yet it must be said that, so far as the post-War constitutional status of India is concerned, it promised " the

substance of independence " to this country, since it envisaged " the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands." Moreover, Sir Stafford made it clear, in the course of his answers to questions put to him at Delhi, that it was implicit in the Declaration that the Indian Union would be " entitled to disown its allegiance to the Crown " ; that it would " be completely free either to remain within or to go without the (British) Commonwealth of Nations " ; and that there was nothing in the Declaration to prevent the Indian Union to join any contiguous foreign countries."

I cannot agree, however, with what Professor Coupland has said against what he has characterized as " Independence here and now." Although I may not agree with the view that the pledge of independence after the War, implicit in the Draft Declaration, is like a " post-dated cheque on a bank that is obviously crashing," yet I cannot help feeling that, unless there is a real transfer of power now to the hands of a properly constituted National Government, it is not very likely that India will be at war " in the same sense as the other Allied countries are at war." A thing, however tempting, that is likely to occur in the future in certain circumstances, cannot really enthuse a people for making necessary sacrifices for it now This is a bare psychological truth.

Nor am I at all convinced by what Professor Coupland has said in support of the provisions in the Draft Declaration for the non-accession of Provinces to the proposed New Constitution of India after the War. " The purpose of the non-accession provisions sions," he has remarked, " was manifest. They embodied the British Government's considered reply to the Moslem claim to Pakistan. It was unfair to say, as Hindu critics promptly said, that they directly encouraged the partition of India. On the contrary, they pointed the way by which alone (in the present writer's view) partition can be avoided. For they are based on a profound psychological truth. The story of the forbidden fruit applies to great affairs of life as much as small. " Presumably, Professor Coupland is not familiar with the history of communal representation in this country. Had he been so, he would not perhaps have made the above observation. Referring to the assurance Lord Minto had given to the Muhammadans in regard to their claim to separate representation, even Mr. Montagu (Secretary of State for India) and Lord Chelmsford (Governor-General of India) observed in 1918, " It is probable that the far-reaching consequences

of this decision and the difficulties which it would create at a later stage were not fully foreseen." Once the principle of the partition of India, on the basis of a unilateral demand from a section of any community or even from one community as a whole, is accepted, it will, by force of logic, lead to a complete disintegration of this country into so many petty political entities, often at war, actual or potential, with one another. We must not forget the wise saying of *The Federalist*, " He who hopes that independent, neighbouring states can live in perpetual harmony with one anothor is a Utopian dreamer who knows neither life nor history." Those who think that the creation of two or more independent Unions within the boundary of India will lead to peace in this country are such Utopian dreamers who know neither life nor history. Moreover, the proposal for the division of India in certain circumstances goes against one fundamental principle in all the past declarations of British policy towards India: they never envisaged anything other than a unified political system for the whole country. Nor should we forget the wise remark of Lord Curzon at the Lausanne Peace Conference (1923) that " the right of self-determination is like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations." If you once concede to the Muslims of India the principle of self-determination in regard to their system of government, you cannot, in equity, deny the same principle to the Hindus of Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province as well as to the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Parsis of Bombay. And what will all this mean ?

Nor should we forget in this connexion the views of the Committee of eminent jurists appointed by the Council of the League of Nations in 1920, " to give an advisory opinion as to the right of the people of the Aland Islands to separate from Finland and unite with Sweden."

Professor Coupland's attitude to the non-accession provisions appears to me to be that of an advocate rather than that of a philosophic student of history with imaginative insight. If it has been possible for the Germans, the French and the Italians to live in peace and harmony in the Swiss Federation, for the French and the English in the Canadian Federation, and for the numerous nationalities in the United States of America, it is also possible for the different nationalities of India to live in peace and harmony within one political Union. The solution of the Indian problem does not lie in any scheme of parti-

sion of India: it lies in the Federation of the whole of India on proper lines. We should remember what His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester said to us the other day in the course of his parting message:

"India is a country fashioned by Nature to be united. Divided against herself she would be very weak: united she can be great and powerful beyond measure."

Division will lead to our destruction: Federation alone can save us. As a student of history, Professor Coupland should have pointed this out.

Moreover, there are one or two omissions or statements in the pamphlet which the author should have avoided. For instance, he has referred (p. 15) to the Muslim allegations of so-called 'atrocities' in Congress-ruled Provinces. Fortunately, he appears not to have believed in them himself, and has even admitted that "the case against the Congress Governments as deliberately pursuing an anti-Moslem policy was certainly not proved." But he has not a word to say as to how Hindus have fared both in Sind and in Bengal—Provinces not under Congress rule. Again, he has observed, "Congress leaders may still talk in the old terms; but Congress is not all India." Quite. Mr. Amery has also been talking, more or less, on this line. I very much wish that Professor Coupland and other critics of the Indian National Congress in England were in India in the months of August and September, 1942. They would have then realised how widespread was the "Congress-mindedness" in this country. No party can exactly represent a population of four hundred millions. There is bound to be some difference of opinion amongst its different sections. What is of real importance is the merits of the principles and policies for which Congress stands. It is no use trying to raise a smoke-screen over them. Professor Coupland has also remarked that "Sir Stafford, by constant and candid discussion of it in open forum, made the Indian public face the communal problem . . . more squarely than they had ever done before" (p. 64). I do not know. Of one thing, however, I am quite sure. With the help of the non-accession provisions in his proposals, Sir Stafford has succeeded in making the communal problem far more complicated than what it had been before he came to India in the spring of 1942. In this way he has done a positive disservice to the cause of Indian unity and integrity.

In conclusion, I should like to observe that the object of the pamphlet is obvious. And I am, therefore, constrained to say, with due respect to the Oxford University Press, that I doubt very much whether it adds to its prestige and reputation as a well-known publishing firm by such publication as the one under review.

AN INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND TO HINDI LITERATURE

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HINDI literature has a period of long and distinguished service to its credit. It developed from the spoken language of the people of North India, *Apbhraṃsh*, after *Saṃskrit* had decayed and fallen into disuse as the common vehicle of expression. Erudite and ornate works continued to trickle occasionally through the *Saṃskrit* language, long after its living contact with the people had been lost, but these were esoteric and dainty confined to the elect. A new literary medium was being evolved in the Indo-Gangetic valley more in consonance with the needs of a living society.

Hindi literature spreads over a period of several centuries, beginning somewhere near the tenth century A.D. Since then it has had a continuous career of extreme richness, variety and versatility. There is a definite break in the literary tradition of Hindi towards the end of the last century, when it began to discover for itself a prose voice and also reinvigorated its poetic stock. Since the arrival of the British a new literary and artistic renaissance has been taking place in the country. It heralds a new approach to literature and a further deepening of literary sensibility. A new class of littérateurs has grown up in the country with a different vision and approach. They rescued Hindi from a meaningless repetition of ancient, now somewhat tarnished, patterns and gave it a new orientation and meaning.

The society which the early Hindi literature embraces within its ambit was a hardened and rigid feudal society. It produced bardic verse dealing with heroic and love themes, but at its best it was capable of high speculative and devotional flights. Most of this literature was written in verse form and may be classified under the following heads: (*i*) Bardic or heroic verse (**वीरगाथा काल**), (*ii*) Religious or devotional poetry (**भक्ति काल**), (*iii*) Love poetry standardised into certain patterns (**रीति काल**).

आदि काल ।—Hindi versification began by embodying in the form of couplets the beliefs, doctrines and spells of various *Yogis* and *Siddhs*

belonging to a degenerate Buddhist or some other independent faith. These verses provided the populace a pivot for its faith and obtained wide currency and popularity. This period of our history is one of complete political disintegration. There was no central authority in the country. Feuds, battles, hate, revenge and bloodshed, these ruled the day. Some of the history of this period is to be found in our bardic verse, such as *Bîsaldeva Rāsō* (**बीसलदेव रासो**) and *Prithvîraj Rāsō* (**पृथ्वीराज रासो**). These poems celebrate the deeds of some of our outstanding heroes and warriors, but the language seems to have undergone much change and revision during the process of recital across a long period of turbulent and unsettled history. There are several scripts of these and allied poems, but their authenticity cannot be fully established. The most popular poem of this class was *Ālhā* (**आल्हा**) which can still be heard at a street-corner or in the countryside among illiterate audiences.

The Hindi in common currency at this time was not much different from its present-day version. We can study its spoken form in the sayings and verses of Amir Khusro who lived almost a century after the death of Prithvîraj. The language used by Khusro is virtually the same as the literary Hindi in vogue today and designated as *Kharhi-bōlī*:

"एक थाल मोती से भरा। सबके सिर पर औंधा धरा॥
चारों ओर वह थाली फिरे। मोती उससे एक न गिरे॥"

"एक नार ने अचरज किया। सांप मार पिंजरे में दिया॥
जों जों सांप ताल को खाए। सूखे ताल, सांप मर जाए॥"

Several versions of *Apbhraṃsh* have been used by Hindi poets, the most popular being *Braj-Bhāshā* or *Shaursenī*, the dialect in currency round about Muttra. This was an extremely sweet and engaging medium and monopolised our poetry for several centuries. Either dialects of *Apbhraṃsh* employed by outstanding poets were *Avadhī* and *Maithila* Of the dialect used in the western districts there are only rare examples, the chief exponent of it being Khusro. But today this medium has replaced all others in the Hindi literary field. This is the reason why Khusro's verses arouse great historical interest. He might be designated as the first poet of *Kharhi-bōlī*

भक्ति काल। After the consolidation of Muslim rule in India, the main tradition of Hindi poetry became devotional and speculative. This is the second main division and popularly described as *Bhakti Kāla*. This

poetry is connected with the vast body of Samskrit literature in its general tone and spirit. With the verse of the *Tantrik* school it forms a part of the continuous stream of India's cultural and intellectual tradition. This tradition chiefly consists in turning away from the objective universe and finding solace in the world of brooding or emotion. Agricultural countries dependent on the vagaries of mind or weather for their subsistence are bound to develop this other-worldly note. It is customary to sub-divide the poetry of *Bhakti Kāla* under two heads: (*i*) The poetry of the *Nirguṇa* school, belonging either to (*a*) the *Sant* or (*b*) *Sūfi* group ; (*ii*) The poets of the *Saguṇa* school celebrating either (*a*) *Rama* or (*b*) *Krishṇa*. Kabir, Jāyasi, Tulsidāsa and Sūrdāsa are respectively the great representatives of these schools. Rarely do we find in any history of literature such a vast body of rich and refined devotional and philosophical poetry.

Kabir—Kabir is the outstanding poet of the *Sant* school. His name commands respect all over the country as a great religious thinker and teacher. He was not primarily a poet, nor does he care for the refinements and embellishments of art. He had a message to deliver and he found the verse from the most appropriate medium for his purpose. The common people found it easiest to remember his words in the form of short, crisp couplets or simple songs. The most interesting part of Kabir's work thus is the thought content of his verse.

Kabir drew the material of his philosophy from various sources, *Vedanta, Sufism, Haṭhayōga* and formed a new synthesis. He was a great religious reformer and preached to all classes and manner of people without any consideration of caste and creed. His broad-mindedness at such an early stage of our history is truly amazing. He offered to the disinherited the best hope that philosophy could provide and a new pride and strength in their lowliness:

"कोई हिन्दू कोई तुरुक कहावै एक जमीं पर रहिये ।"
"को ब्राह्मण को शूद्रा !"
"कह हिन्दू मोंहि राम पियारा, तुरुक कहै रहिमाना ।
आपस में दोउ लरि लरि मूये मरम न काहू जाना ।"
"जो तुम बाम्हन बाम्हनि जाये, और राह तुम काहे न आये ?"

Among the well-known figures of the *Sant* school we may mention the names of Raidāsa, Dharmadāsa, Guru Nānak, Dādū, Sundardāsa

and Malūkadāsa. They form a distinct cultural tradition among themselves.

The second branch of the *Nirguṇa* school consists of *Sūfi* poets who tried to reach salvation through emotional experience. They are mainly Muslim poets who recounted elaborate love-stories having symbolical significance. Of them the chief is *Jāyasi*, though the others *Kutban, Manjhan, Usman, Sheikh Nabi, Kasim Shah* and *Nur Mohammed* are all poets of considerable merit. Besides the known poems, there are others mentioned in contemporary literature, but unfortunately lost to us. These poems mark a very great advance in poetic acumen and technique, *Padmāvat* being among the richest works produced in this country.

Jāyasi—Jāyasi, the author of *Padmavat* was a well-known *Sūfi* divine. He poetised in a simple and popular vein the doctrines of *Sufism* in his *Akhrāvaṭ* (अखरावट). According to his own description he was blind of one eye:

"एक आंख कवि महमद गुनी।"

He was so ugly that when king Sher Shah first saw him, he laughed outright. Jāyasi retorted by enquiring

"मोहि का हंसेसि कि कोहरहि ?"

Padmāvat was written in the *Avadhi* dialect and in the Persian script, so we have received an authentic version of it. It was difficult to take liberties with the text. The story is cast in the elaborate *Masnavi* mould and contains long descriptive and imaginative passages about the beauty of *Singhal Dwip, Padmini*, her love, separation, sorrow, war, the various seasons, all tinged and coloured by philosophy. The beauty of *Padmini* is described by the poet in these terms:

"सरवर तीर पदमिनी आई। खोंपा छोरि केस मुकलाई॥
ससिमुख अंग मलयगिरि बासा। नागिनि झांपि लीन्ह चहुं पासा॥
ओनई घटा परी जग छांहा। ससि कै सरन लीन्ह जनु राहा॥
भूलि चकोर दीठि मुख लावा। मेघ घटा महं चंद देखावा॥

* * * *

"बरुनी का बरनौं इमि बनी। साधे बान जानु दुइ अनी॥
उन बानन्ह अस को जो न मारा। बेधि रहा सगरौ संसारा॥"

The symbolism behind the story has been indicated by the poet towards the end:

'तन चितउर, मन राजा कीन्हा। हिय सिंघल, बुधि पदमिनि चीन्हा॥
गुरू सुआ जेइ पंथ देखावा। बिनु गुरु जगत को निरगुन पावा?
नागमती यह दुनिया धंधा। बांचा सोइ न एहि चित बंधा॥
राघव दूत सोई सैतानू। माया अलाउदीं सुलतानू॥"

Tulsīdāsa—The *Advaitavāda* of Shankara which formed the intellectual background of the *Nirguṇa* school could not enthuse the people, though it permeated their minds. The *Saguṇa* school basing its appeal on *bhakti* transformed the situation. It derived its inspiration from Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda. The greatest poetic disciple of this school was Tulsīdāsa. With Tulsi Hindi poetry derived a grandeur and depth of emotion hitherto unequalled and skill unsurpassed. Tulsī, like Kabir, despised the subtleties of art and his primary aim was singing the glories of Rāma, but inspite of himself Tulsī was a poet of the greatest merit with amazing fluency, richness and depth, and a sensitive ear for the harmony and melody of words. His poetry, inspite of its essentially spiritual tone, glows with colour and beauty and occasionally grows even sensuous, though the poet always seems to be apologetic about it. Tulsī made the countryside ring with the simple charm of the name of Rāma. In a world full of bitter suffering and woe, this *mantram* was people's only solace and comfort. With this frail cockle-shell they hoped to cross the sea of destitution and grief. Tulsī's art opened to our millions the gates of a soothing and beatific heaven, when the world was denied to them.

Tulsīdāsa wrote more than a dozen books of which the most famous are the great *Rāma-Charit-Mānasa* (रामचरित मानस), *Gītāvali* (गीतावली), *Kavitta Rāmāyaṇa* (कवित्त रामायण), *Vinaya-Patrikā* (विनय-पत्रिका) and *Dohāvali* (दोहावली). He was equally at home with *Avadhi* or *Braja-Bhāshā*, his great work *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa* being written in *Avadhi*. He tried his hand at all the current literary styles and succeeded everywhere. His wide tolerance, large-heartedness, intensity and earnestness of passion combined with his versatile literary genius made him one of the greatest poets produced by India. He is one of the rare examples of a poet equally loved by the masses as well as the intelligentsia. Along with his catholic sympathy with human nature and knowledge of the human heart, his work provided the people with

certain easy maxims of conduct at which they clutched like drowning men at a straw:

"की तोहि लागहिं राम प्रिय, की तु राम-प्रिय होहि।
दुइ महं रुचै जो सुगम सोइ कीलै तुलसी तोहि॥"

Sūrdāsa—Among the pioneers of the *bhakti* movement was Vallabhācharya who was devoted to the Krishṇa cult. He preached that salvation was attainable through love of Krishṇa. A very large body of Hindi poetry is inspired by *Krishṇa-bhakti*, though it soon deteriorated in tone and became fleshly and sensual. The great poet of the Krishṇa cult was Sūrdāsa who celebrated the life and career of Krishṇa in his elaborate song-sequence *Sūra-Sāgara* (**सूर सागर**). Sūradāsa was following the tradition of the *Maithila* poet Vidyāpati who had flourished about 1400 A.D., almost two centuries earlier. The best portions of *Sūra-Sāgara* are those which describe Krishṇa the child and Krishṇa the lover. Sūradāsa was a blind poet and a songster. He had no false squeamishness or inhibitions as a poet. His tone towards his hero is intimate and comradely, not lowly-humble as in the case of Tulsī. Sūra is *par excellence* a poet, revels in beauty and does not hold himself back. Tulsī was a simple devotee and almost puritanical. Among the many sayings current about Sūra one of the most pungent is:

"किधौं सूर को सर लग्यो, किधौं सूर की पीर।
किधौं सूर को पद लग्यो, बेध्यो सकल सरीर॥"

The finest poetry of the Krishṇa school centres round the theme of the grief-stricken *Gopīs* after the departure of Krishṇa to Mathura. A separate literary tradition has grown from this theme known as *Bhramar-Gītā* (**भ्रमर गीता**). The *Gopīs* discuss with *Uddhava*, the envoy of Krishṇa, the emptiness of the *nirguṇa* cult:

"निर्गुन कौन देस को बासी?
मधुकर हंसि समुझाय, सौंह दै बूझति सांच, न हांसी।"
"देख न रूप, बरन जाके नहिं ताको हमें बतावत।
अपनी कहौ, दरस ऐसे दो तुम कबहूं हौ पावत?
मुरली अधर धरत है सो, पुनि गोधन बन बन चारत?
नैन बिसाल, भौंह बंकर करि देख्यो कबहुं निहारत?
तन त्रिभंग करि, नटवर बपु धरि, पीतांबर तेहि सोहत?
सूर इयाम ज्यों देत हमैं सुख त्यों तुमको सोउ मोहत?"

Nandadāsa is among the best poets of the *Bhramar-Gita* tradition. Of him it was said :

"और कवि गढ़िया, नंददास जड़िया ।"

The language of his verse is extremely sweet and effective *Braj-Bhāsha*. He took great care to refine and polish his verses, yet the effect is one of unadorned simplicity :

"ऊधव को उपदेस सुनो ब्रजनागरी ।
रूप सील लावन्य सबै गुन आगरी ॥
प्रेम धुजा रस रूपिनी उपजावनि सुख पुञ्ज ।
सुन्दर स्याम बिलासिनी नव वृन्दावन कुञ्ज ॥
सुनो ब्रजनागरी ।"

The lyric climax of the Krishna school is reached in the poetry of Mīrābāi who poured forth glowing and passionate songs in devotional rapture. There is no adornment or artifice in this ecstatic utterance. It is the pure, transparent emotion of an intoxicated devotee and as such has found wide currency and popularity among the people.

रीति काल । Among the well-known poets of this school we may mention Senāpati, Raskhān, Hit-Harivamsha, Rahim, Ganga and Keshava. They take us by a natural transition to the standardized poetry *Rīti-kāla*. This poetry was written in courts during the decadent period of the Mughal empire. It possessed the finest poetic technique, a language richly mature and mellow and a literary tradition of the highest order. The subject of this poetry was ostensibly the love of Rādhā and Krishna, but it was inspired more by the desire of court-patronage than devotion to the deity. Hence this poetry tends to be coarse and sensual in tone, though certainly possessed of rich literary merit. The poems are mostly strung together with the help of certain set themes, as types of the hero and heroine (**नायक नायिका भेद**), the seasons (**षट् ऋतु वर्णन**), literary figures (**अलंकार**), tropes and metres (**पिंगल**) and thus this poetry tends to grow ever more and more affected and shallow, while continuing to acquire a certain brilliancy and glitter. This period stretches almost over two centuries, from 1790 to 1900 when Hindi literature underwent a renaissance.

The poets of *Rīti-kāla* followed certain Samskrit masters in their theses on poetic inspiration and craft. They were poets rather than

original investigators. In their analysis of *Rasa* and *Alaṅkāras* they followed certain well-worn grooves and by no means extended the boundaries of knowledge. Their illustrations, however, were interesting and often captivating. Keshava had shown the way to the new tradition in his *Kavi-priyā* almost half a century earlier, but now the stream flowed in an unbroken channel.

Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Mārawāra is one of the notable writers on Hindi poetics. His *Bhāshā-Bhushaṇ* has been a popular and respected work on poetic figures, because it sums up in a nutshell all the desired information on the subject. The first line of his couplets generally states the quality of the figure and the second illustrates it:

Hyperbole : "अलंकार अत्युक्ति यह बरनत अतिसय रूप ।
जाचक तेरे दान तें भए कल्पतरु भूप ॥"

Bihārī—Among the most notable poets of this period was Bihārī who has concentrated within seven-hundred and odd couplets great richness and wealth of poetry. Each one of his couplets is a finished work of art, though there may be defences of opinion about Bihārī's taste and moral tone. His language is immaculate and exquisitely moulded. His emotion, however, is often false and exaggerated. It would be impossible to improve upon his opening verse :

"मेरी भव बाधा हरौ राधा नागरि सोय ;
जा तन की झांई परे, स्याम हरित दुति होय ।"

But it seems impossible today to wax lyrical over the sentiment of such verses :

' छाले परिले के डरत सकै न हाथ छुवाइ ।
झिझकति हियै गुलाब कै झवा झवापति पाइ ॥"

"हत आवत चलि जात उत, चली छ सातक हाथ ।
चढ़ी हिंडोरें सी रहै लगी उसासन साथ ॥"

Tribute has often been paid to the pointed and epigrammatic quality of Bihārī's verses and may here be repeated :

"सतसैया के दोहरे ज्यों नावक के तीर ।
देखत में छोटे लगैं बेधैं सकल सरीर ॥"

Another luminary of this period was Mativām in whose work we find *Braj-Bhāshā* at its sweetest. He lived under the patronage of Mahārāo Bhāva Singh of Bundi and has dedicated his *Lalita-Lalām* (**ललित ललाम**) to him. This work among other things contains wonderful descriptions of the elephants of Bhāva Singh. His best work is the famous *Rasa-rāja* (**रसराज**) unmatched for sweetness and naturalness. He aims at genuine, touching statement rather than skilled, far-fetched imagery :

"क्यों इन आंखिन सों निरसंक ह्वै मोहन को तन पानिप पीजै ?
नेकु निहारे कलंक लगै यहि गांव बसे कहु कैसे कै जीजै ?
होत यही मन में मतिराम कहूं लग जाय बड़ो तप कीजै ।
ह्वै बनमाल हिए लगिए अरु ह्वै मुरली अधरारस पीजै ॥"

Bhūshaṇ—Matirām's brother Bhūshaṇ attained fame as a poet of heroism. He was attached at first to Chhatra-sāla and later on to Shivāji. He is an exception in an age dominated by the love-motif. His language is extremely vigorous and his expression virile, but Bhushaṇ was a sectarian poet and under present circumstances rather dangerous material to handle. Hindi poetry, which in the past had mostly dominated by amorous or devotional verse, finds in him an admirable model for a new type of poetry. We may usefully study his technique even today to discover what consonants, rhymes and sound-effects have the most value for heroic poetry.

Among the great poets of *Rīti-kāla* were Deva, Bhikārī Dāsa, Padmākara, Raghurāja and many others like Tosh, Benī, Ālam, Gwāl, Dūlaha, poets of considerable merit. Hindi poetry had by now fallen into a rut and second-rate versifiers and poetasters indulged in meaningless repetitions, merely re-arranging old, worn-out phrases and patterns The tradition of *Rīti-kāla* permitted the individual poet no room for originality or enterprise. Everything was set, standardized and classified. He could express his emotion only through well-worn channels. A similar bondage has been keeping our musical genius on a leash, though one may not minimize the greatness of our musical technique.

A host of poets continued to write and flourish in the *Braj-Bhāshā* tradition, the last poet of this order being Ratnāka. Contact with a new culture and way of life ultimately transformed our society. The feudal moulds, already crumbling and decadent

were easily broken to fragments and a new society struggling for life among this ruin, gradually acquired new literary and artistic weapons.

Modern Hindi literature for the first time paid attention to prose and produced a rich harvest of novels, short stories, plays and criticism. Poetry adopting *Kharhi-boli* or the dialect of the western districts as its medium, embarked on a discovery of fresh fields and pastures. The history of modern Hindi literature is thus separate and complete in itself, though striking its roots deep into the past.

TAGORE, THE GREAT SENTINEL

CYRIL MODAK

CIVILIZATION is a fickle wench of various moods. It condemns a Galileo to death and confers a baronetcy on a Newton. It scatters flowers in the path of a Napoleon and sends a howl of contumely to follow a Kaiser into exile. It dooms a Woodrow Wilson to die broken hearted and salvages a Hitler from obs urity to indulge a nation's vindictive passion. It deifies a Gautama Buddha and gives a bowl of poison to a Socrates. It leaves a Mozart to go unsung to a pauper's grave and lionizes a Kreiseer. But none of its fickle freaks has any power over the fate of a Tagore. Civilization can neither sentence a true poet to oblivion nor endow him with immortality. It is he, on the contrary, who is the great Sentinel of civilization, proclaiming through the golden trumpet of his poetry prophetic messages of inspiration or warning.

Out of the legendary East, known to the world only for its rich resources worth exploiting; out of a dream-like culture of ancient days, cramped by centuries of foreign domination, stepped forth in the russet robe of a pilgrim the patriarchal figure of Rabindranath Tagore. There, where the blushing dawn creeps up the hill with gold-sandaled feet; where from her pitchers dusk pours the purple twilight; where the stars glisten like a swarm of fireflies caught and tangled in a silver braid, he sat and dreamed his dreams and sang his songs. And the heart of India was thrilled. After centuries a true singer had come to cheer, delight and humanize those who could hear his singing. But he turned out to be a wandering minstrel. Soon he began his wanderings from China and Japan in the East to Italy, Europe and America in the West, leaving behind in kindred souls snatches of a melody they had not heard before.

Tagore's life was packed with varied activities. He was a mystic and an educator, a philosopher and a novelist, a dramatist and an artist. But in the midst of it all he was always a poet. His prose, his novels, his short stories, his philosophical dissertations are essentially poetic in thought-form and language. His rich and richly poetic personality has baffled sophisticated critics into the most

unsophisticated displays of bankruptcy. For instance, Mr. J. C. Ghose, in his chapter on "Vernacular Literature" in *Legacy of India* says, "Tagore has not imported from Europe the intellectual and scientific objectivity which Indian literature needs, but only the sentimental langours and affectations of the Celtic Twilight and the misty vagueness of Maeterlinckian symbolism." Mr. Ghose has apparently had an overdose of Humanism and has become allergic to emotion. He would feel happy if Yeats and Tagore had imported into their poetry the 'intellectual and scientific objectivity' of Bertrand Russell, the realistic amours of the Baudelairean Midnight, and the angular precision of a Machine Age symbolism. Such half-baked classicists confuse Beauty with Utility. They would like to order Poetry to leave her own domain and pitch her tent on scientific grounds.

But mankind needs the poet to unlock the resources of the universe of thought and feeling just as much as the scientist to reveal the secrets of the physical universe. Society needs the scientist to discover new secrets of advancement and invent new techniques of mastering the material world. But society needs the poet no less, although it seldem recognises it during his lifetime, to give the inspiration for progress in thoughts that glow and words that burn. So Bridges says,

> "This world is unto God a work of art,
> Of which the unaccomplish'd heavenly plan
> Is hid in life within the creatures heart,
> And for perfection looketh unto man."

And Rupert Brooke says,

> "Exile of immortality, strongly wise,
> Strain through the dark with undesirous eyes
> To what may lie beyond it. Sets your star,
> O heart, for ever! Yet, behind the night,
> Waits for the great unborn, somewhere afar,
> Some white tremendous daybreak."

The emotion of the ideal that poetry furnishes is needed to control the inventions of science from barbaric abuse and to urge mankind forward in spite of the odds that at times seem too strong. Seizing

the deep colours of devotion Tagore paints a more appealing picture. "The world is yours at once and for ever," says he, "Therefore, through slow time you give me what is yours and ceaselessly win your kingdom in me." Again, "Day after day you buy your sunrise from my heart and you find your love carven into the image of my life." Mankind did not heed the voice of one of its great Sentinels. Had society become conscious of this ideal, three-fourths of the civilised would not now be blackening the sunrise, day after day year after year, with swarming bombers and explosives nor torturing millions of human lives, those carven images of love and beauty.

Tagore is pre-eminently a poet. And to be a poet, as he understood it, is to throw the dice with Love, and, losing everything in one magnificent stake, win a greater treasure not in the currency of the earth but in flashing coins from Beauty's mint. This wealth of beauty gives him a foretaste of deathlessness in life. The posthumous fame of the epic bard he is willing to forgo. So he says,

> "My love, once upon a time your poet launched a great epic in his mind.
> Alas, I was not careful, and it struck your ringing anklets and came to grief.....
> If my claims to immortal fame after death are shattered, make me immortal while I live."

Rossetti speaks of the same sort of deathlessness.

> "There kneels he now, and all-anhungered of
> Thine eyes gray-lit in shadowing hair above,
> Seals with thy mouth his immortality."

Tagore explodes the prudish custom of explaining such rapturously extravagant passion as devotion to an ideal of womanhood rather than to comely creatures of flesh and blood, of warm hearts and yearning eyes. "O woman!" says he, "you are not merely the handiwork of God, but also of men; these are ever endowing you with beauty from their hearts. Poets are weaving for you a web of threads of golden imagery; painters are giving your form ever new immortality." But she remains to him as to Rossetti, 'half-woman and half-dream,' the dream-half tantalizing in its manifold mystery and sheer loveliness,

the woman-half adorable in its breath-taking self-donation and charming fidelity. Unabashed he says,

" You could humble at your feet the proudest heads in the world.
But it is your loved ones unknown to fame whom you choose to worship, therefore I worship you.'

Equally unabashed, Rossetti says,

" I was a child beneath her touch,—a man
When breast to breast we clung, even I and she,—
A spirit when her spirit looked through me,—
A god when all our life-breath met to fan
Our life-blood, till love's emulous ardours ran
Fire within fire, desire in deity."

So will woman remain for the poet, in spite of all her frailties inherited from Eve and in spite of all her modern freaks of mannishness, the embodiment of everything delicate and daintily beauteous, everything elusive and elusively joyous, everything divine and divinely inspiring.

In one of his truly poetic moments Rupert Brooke says,

" Out of the nothingness of sleep,
The slow dreams of Eternity,
There was a thunder on the deep:
I came, because you called to me.

* * *

I'll break and forge the stars anew,
Shatter the heavens with a song;
Immortal in my love for you,
Because I love you, very strong."

These romanticists set a higher value on the immortality of love than the tribute of prosperity to their genius. The inner urge for declaring their belief shatters the nervous decorum of convention with a heartfelt song. They know that to be a true poet one must needs be a great lover, beyond

" The radiant raindrops couching in cool flowers;
And flowers themselves, that sway through sunny hours,

Dreaming of moths that drink them under the moon;
Then, the cool kindliness of sheets, that soon
Smooth away trouble; and the rough male kiss
Of blankets....."

oving Beauty through all its finite glimpses to its bare Infinity with an all-devouring, all-consecrating passion.

In *Creative Unity*, Tagore explains his notion. "All the language of joy is beauty" he says. "It is necessary to note, however, that joy is not pleasure, and beauty not mere prettiness. Joy is the outcome of detachment from self and lives in freedom of spirit. Beauty is that profound expression of reality which satisfies our hearts without any allurements but its own ultimate value." It is, perhaps, different from the Kantian dictum, 'that which merely pleases man is beautiful.' Yet Kant admitted that "it is the feeling of purposiveness without the idea of purpose." Schlegel maintained that "there is no more potent antidote to low sensuality than the adoration of beauty." While for Bridges, beauty, and, its corollary, pleasure, provide the only incentive that can keep man at the losing game of life. Bridges says,

"Yea, blame not the pleasures, they are not enough; pleasure only
Makes this life liveable. . . . ."

Tagore's intuition is more daring. Beauty is not only the feeling of purposiveness but the language of joy, a joy that is more than purpose as music is greater than any musician's intention. The adoration of beauty is far more than the most potent antidote to low sensuality or the most powerful incentive to go on living. It gives the insight to say in Tagore's words,

"Thou hast done well, my lover, thou hast done well to send me
thy fire of pain.
For my incense never yields its perfume till it burns, and my
lamp is blind till it is lighted."

It is in Beauty that the lover of Beauty can see all life's cruel contradictions and tragic incongruities blend like shrill and soft notes into the wholeness of harmony.

Tagore is, of course, a romantic poet in the tradition of Goethe and Shelley, Rossetti and Calderon. Babbit, an American missionary of Humanism, concludes that "a thing is romantic when it is strange, unexpected, intense, superlative, extreme, unique; when it is wonderful

rather than probable. . . . " Tagore's poetry is thrilling in its emotional intensity, unique in its profusion of imagery, superlative in its charm. In Keatsian phrase, it surprises with a fine excess. It startles ' by the unexpected vision of mystery beyond the circle of appearances that wraps us in the dull commonplace of daily usage,' as Babbit would have romantic poetry do. It is ecstatic. It is lyrical. Tagore says,

" Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last song—the joy that
makes the earth flow over in the riotous excess of the grass;
The joy that sets the twin-brothers, Life and Death, dancing
over the wide world ;
The joy that sweeps in the tempest, shaking and waking all life
with laughter ;
The joy that sits still with its tears on the open red lotus of
pain ;
And the joy that throws everything it has upon the dust and
knows not a word."

But Tagore perplexes Humanists. He does not ' roll in abysses of despair and ennui ' nor ' trail through Europe (India) the pageant of his bleeding heart ' as they expect of a romantic poet. On the contrary, he has woven the infinite pathos of life into songs of challenging beauty. Of his dead beloved he says,

" I dreamt that she sat by my head tenderly ruffling my hair
with her fingers, playing the melody of her touch.
I looked at her face and struggled with my tears, till the anguish
of unspoken words burst my sleep like a bubble.
I sat up and saw the Milky Way above my window, like a world
of silence on fire, and I wondered if at this moment she had
a dream that rhymed with mine."

The good humour with which Tagore met the sharp arrows of life and turned pain into pæans of victory refutes the preaching of the apostles of Humanism. He says,

" Rejoice!
For night's fetters are broken ;
And from the ramparts of the ruined prison rise the pæans
of victory!"

'It takes a romanticist like Tagore to know when the quickening effect of the sensuous turns into deadening intoxication. The Humanist cannot know it as he lives a starved life on the bread and water of ideas, denying his personality its full four-fold rights. So, Tagore says,

" Free me from the bonds of your sweetness, my love!
No more of this wine of kisses.
This mist of heavy incense stifles my heart,
Open the doors, make room for the morning light.
I am lost in you, wrapped in the folds of your caresses.
Free me from your spells, and give me back my manhood
to offer you my freed heart."

He does not want absurdly to be divorced from the life of feeling for ever. He yearns to regain the freedom of manhood from the bondage of sensations only to have the manly satisfaction of wooing the Beloved afresh. Love is not to him the pleasuring-mongering of drunken passions. It is not just a moment's fleeting rapture. It is the nectar of immortality. It animates. It refines. It sustains. It takes man by the hand through fire and water to make him more divinely human. As Shelley says,

" I loved, I love, and when I love no more,
Let joys and grief perish, and leave despair
To ring the knell of youth."

It is the absence of love that has loosed the vulgarity of Hell itself upon a groaning world in the form of Imperialism, Militarism and Fascism.

Tagore's romanticism does not find its inspiration in an orgy of emotion nor in a cynicism straining at the leash of Reason. It is inspired by a passion so sensitized by the touch of Beauty that it realizes what the Up-to-heaven Idealist, the Back-to-nature Romanticist and the Down-to-convention Humanist have not been able to comprehend with any adequacy. He says,

" There is not time for us to clasp a thing and crush it and fling
it away to the dust.
The hours trip rapidly away, hiding their dreams in their skirts.
Our life is short ; it yields but a few days for love.
If it were for work and drudgery, it would be endlessly long.
Brother, keep that in mind and rejoice! "

At first sight it may seem a refined Epicureanism. But it is really a good-humoured awareness that life and Nature are filled with a conflicting variety of lovely things to save us from self-frustration: Being fiercely absorbed in any one lovely object destroys the object and frustrates our own æsthetic development. Thus man learns that the real enjoyment of beauty is not in satiating pleasures but in the eager quest of the yet more beautiful.

" I am restless, I am athirst for far-away things,
My soul goes out in a longing to touch the skirts of the dim distance.....
O ! Far-to-seek ! O ! the keen call of thy flute !"

This higher romanticism of Tagore has a definite contribution to make to the literature of transcendental æsthetics.

The lover of Beauty yearns to put into works of creative art this 'thirst for far-away things,' this 'agony of wishing,' this 'anguish of unspoken words' not in poster-like directness but in delicate suggestiveness as evanescent at times as the rainbow colours reflected in a drop of dew.

" Your feet are rosy-red with the glow of my heart's desire,
Gleaner of my sunset songs !
Your lips are bitter-sweet with the taste of my wine of pain.
With the shadow of my passion have I darkened your eyes,
Haunter of the depth of my gaze!
I have caught you and wrapt you, my love, in the net of my music.
You are my own, my own,
Dweller in my deathless dreams."

For intellectual aesthetes like Ethel Mannin this is 'crescent-moon idealism' and 'pomegranate and lotus-bud imagery which goes down so well with bored Knightsbridge matrons,' as she says in *Confessions and Impressions*, comparing Tagore and Bertrand Russell. Perhaps, she would have preferred, " Your lips are bitter with your perfidy," and "I have caught you and wrapt you in the net of my lies." That would be more in keeping with post-war cynicism. But that would be highly inartistic according to Tagore, because it is foreign to man's real nature.

Tagore's higher romanticism does not dispense with 'reason' any more than Arnold's humanism did. But if for Arnold and Bridges 'reason' is a flaming forge at which the will and the emotions must be constantly tempered and beaten into shape, for Tagore 'reason' is man's only means of propulsion when life's sky, illumined once with guiding stars, is dart and inscrutable. The loneliness and despair, the pain and injustice that man must suffer cast the same shadow over Tagore that they have cast over Shelley and Arnold, Hardy and Bridges. He says,

"There is no hope for you, no fear for you.
There is no word, no whisper, no cry.
There is no home, no bed of rest.
There is only your own pair of wings and the pathless sky.
Bird, O my bird, listen to me, do not fold up your wings."

It is a happy metaphor. Has 'reason' ever before been taken from its sedentary or at best pedestrian habit and given the bird-like power to fly? Whether romantic or Maeterlinckian, it is superb and superbly different to the usual Occidental mode of thought. For 'reason' which has wings is not restricted to the strictly logical process of painfully stumbling along step by step. It can outreach the purely rational and gain heights of intuition. Trusting its intuitive assurance it can spread its wings like an eagle and sail above storms and dare the pathless sky.

Matthew Arnold's profound melancholy,

"For the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain,"

adds a darker tincture to the despair of the defeated and the pessimism of the disillusioned. It is freighted with human pathos which no humanism could suppress. But it is the cry of a soul which cannot soar above the crushing fatality which keeps men and women helpless victims. Arnold leaves the vanquished alone to drink of the vials of

bitterness. He does not give them an elixir to make them valiant and unconquerable in defeat as Tagore does.

> "There is only your own pair of wings and the pathless sky.
> Bird, O my bird, listen to me, do not fold up your wings."

Tagore's is the *lyrical* while Arnold's the *critical* approach to life. Who shall judge which is the truer ? Who shall decide whether ideas born to the accompaniment of music are more or less akin to reality than those born amid the sulphur-fumes of the laboratory ? Tagore was essentially a singer. His poems were not studiously composed but sung spontaneously. His heart was intoxicated with music. His mind was enfolded in rhythmic measures. His life like a harp poured forth the melodies of love. It is no wonder that *Chitra* turned out to be a rapturously lyrical drama. It is natural that what is called a philosophy of life was with him an *aesthetic of life.*

It is true perhaps, that a collection of some one hundred poems would include Tagore's imperishable gift to posterity and that much of his other writing could be disregarded as having repetitions of thought, of metaphor and even phrases, and flaws of hurried craftsmanship. It is true that some of the English translations which he has allowed to appear are banal. It is true that there is in his writings a Keatsian sumptuousness of imagery which renders them deliciously suggestive rather than sharply clear cut. It is true that he has inherited a rich tradition from the Vaishnava *bhakti* poets and has been receptive to Western influences. And, yet, when we have conceded all this, we have only conceded that Rabindranath Tagore is a man among gifted men, a singer in the line of inspired Indian singers, a lover in the august company of the world's great lovers of Beauty. If it is the function of poetry ' to detach the individual idea from its confinement of everyday facts and to give to its soaring wings the freedom of the universal,' as he himself held, then Tagore has left a heritage of which any people may justly be proud.

The high-brow often show a partiality for Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, Surdas and Michael Madhusudan Dutt. The low-brow are apt to revel in Jaideva and Keshav, Mirabai and Chandidas. Scholars are usually drawn to Valmiki and Vyasa, Tulsidas and Kabir. But neither high-brow nor low-brow nor scholar, unless they are touched with a divine fire, will ever have a taste for Tagore. He is the poet's poet. He is the poet of the worshippers of that Beauty which is the incarnate

form of Joy, that Joy which has drunk deep of the fount of Pain, that Pain which keeps Love's flowers eternally fresh. He was the great Sentinel who kept fearless guard over the emotional, intellectual, social and national life of his generation against the invasions of ugliness, error, injustice and decay. Living as he did at a period of volcanic national upheaval, he preserved his ideal of liberty unblemished by embittering episodes on all sides. His ringing prayer for freedom might well be used in every tabernacle and temple, mosque and church throughout the tortured world,

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depths of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sands of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake!"

Would that the poet's agony of wishing soon find fulfilment for the world no less than for India!

BRITISH ALLIANCE WITH JAIPUR, 1803

UPENDRANATH SARKAR, M.A.
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LIKE the other states of Rajputna, Jaipur (or Jainagar) suffered so much from the Maratha ravages during the eighteenth century that in 1803 it gladly responded to Lord Wellesley's proposal and concluded a Subsidiary Alliance with the East India Company. The two contracting parties agreed that ' the friends and enemies of one of the parties shall be considered the enemies of both.' Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh was left free to manage his internal administration as best as he could without interference from the British Government. He was also exempted from the payment of tribute. He agreed to ' send the whole of his forces to the assistance of the Company's army, and exert himself to the utmost of his power ' if the Company's territory in Hindusthan was invaded by ' any enemy.' In case of such a war the Maharaja was to ' act . . . agreeably to the advice and opinion of the Commander of the English army. . . employed with his troops.' He also agreed to exclude all Europeans from his service as well as his territory, except in cases approved by the Company's Government. All disputes between Jaipur and other States were to be submitted to the British Government ; British assistance would be available if ' from the obstinacy of the opposite party no amicable terms could be settled.' Of course ' the charge of the expenses of such aid ' was to be paid by the Jaipur Government.[1]

The immediate purpose of the treaty, from the British point of view, was obviously to hamper the movements of Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar in Hindusthan. Tod says that Jagat Singh sincerely fulfilled his obligations,[2] but unpublished records preserved in the Imperial Record Department show that on some occasions British officers complained.[3] In October, 1805, Captain Sturrock, British Resident at Jaipur, openly accused Jagat Singh of allowing Holkar to draw supplies from his territory, and secretly reported to his superiors

1 Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol. III*, pp. 102-03.
2 *Annals of Ambar*, Chap. IV.
3 Secret Consultations, 1805, 11th July, No. 2.

that the Rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur were trying to form an anti-British coalition.[4] The story of an anti-British coalition was probably based on exaggerated suspicions, but the records seem to prove that the repeated threats of Holkar[5] made Jagat Singh rather lukewarm in his co-operation with his British allies.

At this stage further complications were introduced by Jagat Singh's desire to marry Princess Krishnakumari, a daughter of Rana Bhim Singh of Mewar. The tragic story of 'Virgin Krishna' is well-known to the readers of Tod's *Annals*[6]. Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur, Jagat Singh's rival for the hand of this princess, invoked the support of Daulat Rao Sindhia. Sindhia was so anxious to increase his influence in Rajputana and Central India that he readily accepted Man Singh's request and marched towards Mewar. Jagat Singh had already sent some troops to Udaipur. Sindhia found that the Rana was 'held in control' by the Jaipur troops. So he complained to the British Government that he could not realise his tribute from Mewar owing to the opposition of Jaipur. According to the treaty of Surji Anjangaon, neither the British Government nor its allies could interfere with Sindhia's control over his vassals. So Captain Sturrock compelled Jagat Singh to withdraw his troops from Udaipur.[7]

Towards the close of 1805 Lord Lake was prevailed upon by Jagat Singh to request Daulat Rao Sindhia to approve the Jaipur Raja's marriage with Krishnakumari. At the same time Jagat Singh was warned that he should not adopt 'any measures. . . . which include the smallest risk of creating any dispute, either with Sindhia, or with the. . . Rana of Udaipur.'[8] But Jagat Singh was not willing to listen to these friendly remonstrances. In February, 1806, Captain Sturrock observed in an official letter, "Both parties (*i.e.*, Jaipur and Jodhpur) are preparing for hostilities in the event of their not being able to settle the point in dispute to their mutual satisfaction and an appeal to arms becoming necessary."[9] The Resident repeatedly requested Jagat Singh to come to an amicable settlement with Man Singh, and plainly told him that, the dispute being 'of a private and

4 Sec. Cons., 1805, 31st December, No. 2.
5 Sec. Cons., 1805, 11th July, No. 2.
6 *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XVII. For a more accurate historical version, see *Modern Review*, April, 1942.
7 Sec. Cons., 1805, 31st December, No. 18.
8 Sec. Cons., 1806, 16th January, No. 43.
9 Sec. Cons., 1806, 27th February, No. 42.

family nature,' the British Government 'would probably avoid interfering in it as much as possible."[10] At last a treaty was concluded between Jaipur and Jodhpur in April, 1806. It was decided that neither Jagat Singh nor Man Singh would marry Krishnakumari.[11] This treaty did not last long; as a matter of fact, the dispute relating to Krishnakumari raised its head again within a few months.

In October, 1805, Sir George Barlow succeeded Lord Cornwallis as temporary Governor-General. "He had proved a zealous subordinate to Lord Wellesley, but he did not hesitate to follow on the lines that Cornwallis had indicated.[12] One of the unfortunate results of the policy of peace inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis was the withdrawal of British protection from the trans-Chambal states, and, consequently, the severance of the alliance with Jaipur. Lord Lake, Malcolm and Tod disapproved Barlow's surrender of Jaipur to the 'predatory hordes' of Holkar and Amir Khan.[13] Tod says, "The Jaypur court retained a lively, but no grateful remembrance, of the solemn obligations we contracted with her in 1803, and the facility with which we extricated ourselves from them when expediency demanded, whilst we vainly attempted to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon our ally."[14]

[10] Sec. Cons., 1806, 13th March, No. 16.
[11] Sec. Cons., 1806, 8th May, No. 97.
[12] Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 265.
[13] See Tod's *Annals of Amber*, Chap. IV, and Malcolm's *Political History*.
[14] *Annals of Amber*, Chap. IV.

CHINA THROUGH FIRE *

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., PH.D.

WHEN in July, 1937, Japan made its invasion of China and when in the course of a few months enormous conquests were effected by the aggressor, most people in the world became pessimistic as to the future of the Chinese nation. It was virtually taken for granted in many circles that the Chinese blood that was being shed on so gigantic a scale would be of no avail and the country would after a while pass under the thraldom of the Japanese Empire. After five years of war these calculations appear to be puerile. The losses that China has sustained during these years need not be minimised and the seriousness of the wounds that have been inflicted upon the body politic must not be under-rated. Vast territories, important cities and all the ports have been lost to the invader. But while the wounds are gaping, they have not been allowed to fester and to poison the body. On the contrary the system has not only maintained its vitality but has it to-day considerably strengthened. The fire through which the country has passed for the last five years has purified its soul and given it a sense of rebirth and rejuvenation.

Some of the important factors which have contributed to this rejuvenation may be dealt with in this paper. The first and foremost of them is certainly the Kuomintang. This nationalist party was started at the beginning of this century and was largely responsible for the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, which had been the chief barrier against all progress in China. Although in 1911 the party had played this important part, it was not till 1919 that it assumed the name by which it has become so well known and it was not till 1924 that it was reorganised on a new basis and made more potent and useful as a factor of national advance. If the Chinese are to-day so patriotic, so united and so determined to maintain the freedom and integrity of their country, this is mostly the handiwork of the Kuomintang. The invasion itself has during the last five years welded the people of different parts more solidly into a nation. When cities and villages

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of different provinces were invaded and occupied by the Japanese, many people of these regions went over to safer parts of the country. People speaking different Chinese dialects and hitherto kept separate by distances, by tradition and by other factors were now cast together and came to know each other for the first time so closely and intimately. This intermingling in the hours of distress has, it seems, broken forever the barriers of provincialism. But while the exigencies of war have helped a great deal in breaking down the barriers of space and tradition, the differences between province and province had already been undermined to a very considerable degree by the activities of the Kuomintang. It had at least prepared the mind of the people for the reception of the new messages of unity and nationalism.

The membership of this party is not, like that of the Indian National Congress, open to everybody attaining a particular age and paying a particular sum as the annual membership fee. Like the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R., the Kuomintang places a good deal of emphasis on the quality of the candidates for the party membership. Those only who fulfil the rigid conditions imposed by the rules are allowed to enter the party as its members. In consequence its membership is not very large. The Chinese population is more than four hundred and fifty million. The members of the Kuomintang number only about two million. The party organisers have in fact emphasised quality and not quantity. These two million members, sworn to national service, imbued with the spirit of strict discipline and trained on the soundest principles, have made themselves an effective instrument of national welfare. The writer who has delineated the services of the Kuomintang and described its principles and organisation in pamphlet No. 2 has, however, only casually referred to the Communist Party in China. He points out that it stands to the credit of the Kuomintang that inspite of their armed uprisings in the past it has forgiven them and allowed their organisation to function in the country. There are many who will not be satisfied with this brief and even cryptic reference to the Chinese Communists and will be eager to know of their principles and services to the country in greater detail.

The second factor of Chinese resistance is bound up with the personality of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. At one time a mere regional warlord, he came to power and formed the national government in

1927 with the assistance of the "Chekiang financial clique." But he gradually grew above his antecedents. Not only he has outlived the traditions of the warlord and become the greatest unifier of the country but has also largely made himself independent of the banking interests. In fact it may be said that while originally he allowed himself to be an instrument of the bankers of Shanhgai, now he has made them his own and the nation's instrument. In 1937 when Japan started its invasion, the obvious man to lead the Chinese resistance was this "lean, tall, clean-shaven and unsmiling" General. Even the Communists against whom he had carried on a vendetta for years appreciated this fact and gave him his life so that the Japanese might be fought and resisted. Fortunately for Chiang Kai-shek, the governmental organisation was at this time in the melting pot. No cut and dried constitutional organisation had yet been set up. For five years between 1932 and 1937 serious efforts were made to frame a constitution under which the nation might be effectively and at the same time democratically governed. Draft after draft of a constitution was made and their revised versions were published but times were already out of joint and before anything definite could be done in this regard, the Japanese war was upon the Chinese people.

All constitutional experiments had consequently to be postponed till better times arrived and to-day all powers are concentrated in the hands of the Generalissimo. The National Government has a titular head but the actual authority in every respect is centred in the Marshal. He is the chairman of the Supreme National Defence Council, chairman of National Military Council, president of the Executive Yuan, Tsungtsai (Director-General) of the Kuomintang, chairman of the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks, the principal of all military academies in China, chairman of the Central Training Institute, the leader of the Youth Corps, principal of the Central Political Institute and chairman ot the Planning Board. This catalogue testifies as much to the great energy of the man who now leads China as to the extent of the concentration of power that has taken place in that country during the years of the war. Accumulation of so much power in the hands of a lesser man might have been disastrous to the country and its interests. That Chiang Kai-shek is now the soul of the Chinese national movement and that he has used his almost unlimited authority both ruthlessly and at the same time justly and efficiently is proved by the comprehensive organisation he has created as much for the

resistance of the invader as for the simultaneous regeneration of the country and the people.

The third factor of Chinese resistance is to be found in the vast and well trained army which has been created in the country. The organisation set up for training the rank and file as well as the officer cadets of this army may appear very surprising to us in India and should consequently be described in some detail. It should be known that before 1924 there was no institution worth the name in China for proper military education on modern lines. It was in that year that the Whampao Military Academy was established near Canton. In course of eighteen years which have passed since then China has found it possible to make all arrangements for the training of the large body of officers required so essentially for a vast fighting army. The problem of training an army and particularly its officers has proved baffling to many countries but it is as much a matter of surprise as of optimism that China has solved this problem so satisfactorily within a period of less than twenty years.

Military education in regular military institutions in China has been regarded as of two kinds—(*i*) the training of cadets to become officers and (*ii*) the training of officers for special duties. The Central Military Academy before the war was responsible only for the training of the cadets to become officers. Its branches also performed the same duty. Specialised education was supplied by the Infantry School, Artillery School, Engineering School, Transport and Supply School, and Communication Technical School. Students who had passed out of High Schools were admitted into the Central Military Academy and its branches for training to become officers. The officers already commissioned were then to go to the special schools for training in particular branches of service. In wartime the distinction between the Central Academy and its branches on the one side and the specialised schools on the other could not be maintained. The Central Academy had to make arrangements for such specialised training as well. The Board of Military Training of the National Military Council is now responsible for making all arrangements for training and it maintains to-day 26 institutions for this purpose.

In providing training to soldiers and officers, the Chinese national authorities place special emphasis in infusing a spiritual fervour into them. They appreciate it fully that in conducting modern warfare it is not enough that adequate material resources are gathered and that the

soldiers are given mechanical training. It is essential that they must have the will and the determination to use these resources and utilise their mechanical skill in circumstances both favourable and desperate. Without such determination on the part of the soldiers, " a nation's war machine is like a body without a soul." " The Generalissimo always lays special emphasis on spiritual training for his men. To him spirit is more important than material." In a conference held after the fall of Hankow in 1938 he even went to the length of pointing out that China's deficiency in equipment could be largely made up by her fighting spirit. One man imbued with this spirit could accomplish the work of two soldiers without it.

As a part of his spiritual training the Chinese soldier is reminded every day of his duty towards the nation and the people. A body of commandments was drawn up for all public functionaries, party members, students and soldiers, to keep before them and follow in their daily life. Some of these commandments are:

1. Loyalty and courage are the basis of patriotism.
2. Faithfulness and uprightness are the basis of a successful career.
3. Diligence and thrift are the basis of service.
4. Courtesy and self-control are the basis of good administration.
5. Helpfulness is the basis of happiness.
6. Knowledge is the basis of helping the world.
7. Persistence is the basis of achievement.

Some rules were again drawn up by the Generalissimo, to be observed specially by the soldiers. A few of them are noted below:

1. To support the National Government and obey the authorities, there should be no falsehood or disobedience.
2. To respect and love our comrades and protect the people, there should be no haughtiness or rudeness.
3. To be faithful to our duty and follow orders strictly, there should be no procrastination or cowardice.
4. To be strict in discipline and brave and determined, there should be no laxity or dereliction.
5. To endure hardships and be frugal and plain, there should be no extravagance or dishonesty.
6. To pay attention to manners and keep oneself tidy, there should be no voluptuousness or sensualism.

That the Chinese people have held out against the superior force of the invader is due as much to the military training which the soldiers and their officers have had opportunity of receiving during the last one decade and a half as to the spiritual bath which has been given to them during the last few years. This is a matter to be borne in mind.

The total war of modern times can be fought successfully only by a comprehensive development of the nation. It is not enough that the soldiers are efficiently trained and led. Nor is it enough that they are given a satisfactory spiritual bath. It is equally essential that the nation's industrial equipment should be developed simultaneously and that proper steps should taken for the education of the people and for making them feel that if they are suffering for the country, others are not enjoying at their expense. We may now proceed to see as to how China has met these problems during the last five years. As for industries, it should be known that before the war there were "industries in China" but no Chinese industries. In other words, industries in China were largely, if not wholly, controlled by different foreign interests. The war has, however, brought about a revolutionary change in this respect. "To-day, there are 1,350 privately owned industrial plants in the interior using mechanical power in addition to the 108 units of heavy industries under the direct control of the National Resources Commission of the Ministry of Economic Affairs." These factories are scattered in all parts of the country and are concerned with the manufacture of different necessaries of war. Metallurgical factories have been increased from 4 to 87, machine works from 37 to 376 units, electrical appliance factories from 1 to 44, chemical works from 78 to 380 and spinning and weaving factories from 102 to 273. These instances give us enough idea as the development which has taken place in the industrial life of the country. It is not necessary to quote figures to illustrate the growth which has correspondingly taken place in other industries.

One of the basic trends in the rapid industrialisation of China is to be noticed in the development of industrial co-operatives. As early as the spring of 1938 it was brought home to the leaders of China that the Sino-Japanese war would be not only a long drawn out one but it would be a total war. If it was to be fought effectively, power of economic resistance was to be developed as much as capacity for armed resistance. It was also considered by the leaders on that occasion that not only economic resources should be developed for the

efficient conduct of the war but such development should be stimulated as a permanent factor of new China. Both the purposes could be achieved best by the establishment of industrial co-operatives throughout the country. According to this plan 2,000 industrial co-operative societies have now been set up with a membership of 30,000. They are engaged in such industries as machines and metal working, mining and metallurgical, textile, chemical, pottery, food supplies, transport and miscellaneous. Of these textile represents 34% of the total number of societies.

The co-operative organisation is headed by the Board of Directors at Chungking, with Dr. H. H. Kung, the Minister of Finance, as the president. The organisation is then distributed among seven regions, in each of which there are the regional headquarters. Each region in its turn is divided into a number of depots, there being altogether 86 depots. Below the depots are the societies themselves. Seven or more men of adequate technical training and skill may talk things over with one another and decide to organise a society. They may then draw up a plan and a budget. These they are required to submit to the depot headquarters for study and investigation. If on study and investigation the men are found to be reliable and the plan adequate and proper, the society is registered and all possible help of both technical and financial character is vouchsafed to it. If, for instance, the society requires a loan, the depot may advance the funds itself or may introduce the society to a bank. As soon as the co-operative proceeds after these preliminaries to engage in production, the depot will only exercise general supervision and offer it direction and advice. Otherwise the co-operative is left to itself. It is not necessary to enter into details as to the organisation of the co-operative itself. It is enough to point out that it has the General Meeting for its supreme authority. This Meeting elects a Board of Directors and a Supervisory Committee. The Chairman of the Board acts as a link between the society and the outside public and higher authorities.

The problem of China's education in the desperate circumstances created by the war might have proved baffling to other than a determined people. The Chinese are now determined to meet all eventualities and carry on with training the nation, however mighty the obstacles may be. No body of men has helped the Chinese national movement more than the students. They were very largely responsible for awakening the spirit of resistance in the country as the Japanese made one aggression after another. When at last the war was actually

on, many of the students joined the fighting services. Those again who remained in the educational institutions had not had a pleasant time. They were bombed out of their homes as well as schools and colleges. These latter became especially the targets of the Japanese airmen. It became consequently a problem as to how books, laboratory equipment, and other necessaries of modern education could be safely transferred to less dangerous areas. It stands to the credit of the educational leaders that they succeeded in many cases to save a good portion of their library and laboratory. The students and teachers also followed the books and other school equipment to safer regions. They had to travel as best they could. Some portion of the journey they would cover in railway trains, some portion in country boats, and often the greater portion on foot.

Not unoften they would be required to travel for 1,000 to 1,200 miles before they would reach a place favourable for beginning their work anew. Somehow a number of sheds would be built and some rough arrangements would be set up for holding classes. The universities and colleges which had worked on an independent basis before would now combine together so that their joint resources might help them in coping with the urgency of the situation. Even then life for students as well as teachers has proved to be not only uncomfortable in the extreme but hard in every sense of the word. They have to use double-decked beds in crowded rooms, and pile up mud bricks to serve as desks for study and as tables for dinner. Oil lamps are generally used for study at night. But even these lamps are to be put out by 8 P.M. so that oil might be conserved. As for food, it is certainly not available as in the past. Meat is rare and a vegetarian diet of salted cabbage and soya-bean sauce is what is usually available to the students and teachers. In other words, excepting the spirit everything else is absent for the conduct of education on proper lines. But it is the spirit which matters most. The Government, of course, is doing its level best to tackle the situation to the best of its ability. The Ministry of Education is giving financial assistance to students in the form of loans and by April of the present year the amount of money spent under this head went up to 12,000,000 dollars. But the situation is still desperate in many instances. All this outward discomfort notwithstanding, education is being carried on in China and the nation that is now resisting the Japanese invader is a nation educated on modern lines.

The five years of war have given the Chinese people a new sense of strength and self-confidence. The barriers that kept the provinces so separated from one another have been removed and the much-needed national unity which was lacking so much until recently has been created. Nothing but an external danger of the direst character represented by the Japanese invasion could have stimulated such unity. The war again has not only made possible the growth of new industries in China but has directed these industries along co-operative lines. This may be the basis of a new co-operative civilisation in the East. Inspite of all the ravages that the present war has inflicted on this ancient country, it may be taken as a godsend if we study it from this standpoint. It has provided the baptismal fire out of which a new and a better China is being born.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE IN HIGH SCHOOLS

S. C. DUTTA

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BY introducing Science as a high school course the University of Calcutta has at long last discharged an obligation long overdue. Science has figured as a compulsory subject in the School Final or Matriculation Examination of other Universities for a good many years and in this age of extraordinary scientific developments an apology for the inclusion of Science as a high school course is hardly warranted. Years ago when old traditions were still securely enthroned, Herbert Spencer observed " What knowledge is most worth? The uniform reply is—Science. This is the verdict on all the counts." Indeed to those who live in utter ignorance of the operation of the laws of nature, life is but an uncertain gamble—a pitiful mesh of magic and superstition. " The prime and direct aim of instruction," says Mathew Arnold, " is to enable a man to know himself and the world. Such knowledge is the only sure basis for action and this basis it is the true aim and office of instruction to supply." It may be argued that mere verbal instruction in science cannot supply such a basis. But while admitting the force of the argument it may be pointed out that nowhere do the general aims of a school receive such marked concrete expression as in its science curriculum which combines a study of the physical sciences with that of the biological.

But what science are we to teach? The systems of generalised truths to which the term science is generally applied can be truly acquired only by those who have had long years of training in abstract reasoning. We may, of course, put into a child's mouth the words, " matter is indestructible " or " animals of today have gradually evolved from simpler forms " after showing him an experiment or two or presenting to him a few specimens of the fossilised remains of extinct plants and animals, but no procedure could be better calculated to defeat the purpose for including science as a part of the school curriculum. The purpose of instruction in general science is to beget an intelligent interest in children in the objects that surround them, so that they may really see something when they look at them and thus

to induce in them a certain mental attitude towards these objects. Such a study easily lends itself to the inculcation of scientific method by the exact observation, description and comparison of easily ascertained facts and by the solution of simple problems suggested by those facts. It should be distinguished from a study of any of the specific sciences. But such a study, though so general, provides a sure foundation for training in specific sciences, should it be desired in later years.

The teacher of general science has to realise that he is not to teach such specific sciences as Astronomy, Geology, Physics, Chemistry or Biology, but that his task is to explore with his pupils the nature and properties of things well known to them. Such an approach gives concreteness to the study and provides the lessons with a real bearing on life. Now it may be questioned if the syllabus in general science prescribed by the University of Calcutta for the Matriculation Examination and the courses of study drawn out by the Department of Education for the lower forms of High Schools are amenable to such an approach. The courses referred to have had to be drawn up on a logical basis, as such courses generally are, and they seem to give one the impression that general science is merely an unrelated combination of certain elementary topics of the specific sciences. A detailed examination of the choice and sequence of the topics listed will, however, reveal that there is no factual basis to such an impression. Each of the courses can be reorganised and built around such topics as are meaningful to the pupils. It is necessary to map out the courses in sections or topics, the content and sequence of which are to be determined by the teacher's knowledge of the subject on the one hand and that of the child on the other. If the teacher solely relies in this matter on the courses prescribed or on the text-books recommended, his teaching is apt to be robbed of the vitality which comes of a definite knowledge of the child's present mental store and his natural mode of adding to that store. Conceding that the topics that the several courses of High School science deal with are closely related to problems that a child encounters in his day to day activities, it may still be argued that for the purpose of efficient organisation of instruction such topics should be limited in range and confined to one or two special fields of science. Such an argument ignores the fundamental aims of general science. Science has been included in the High School course only because it is thought that it can provide an extensive sample of the world which the child has to get to grips and thus train himself to solve, by scientific means, a wide range of problems of the types he is likely to encounter.

It will thus appear that the wider the range of topics included in the course, the more general is the science and consequently the more complete is the view of nature that it can offer. If the child is presented with a few topics, limited in scope and confined to certain special fields of science, he will get only a partial view of nature and will as a result fail to apply the scientific attitude to problems outside that range.

In planning out the series of sections or topics care should be taken to see that while each of them marks a distinct step forward in the mastery of the subject, the materials of each section are so organised that they may be easily demonstrated by the appliances available and readily adapted to the particular method of presentation he proposes to use with regard to them. Of the approved methods of presenting a scientific topic to the high school child the most useful are the topical and the historical method. The famous book, " The Chemical History of a Candle " by Michael Faraday affords an excellent illustration of the topical method. In it the father of electricity presents to his readers such important scientific principles as those of capilarity, change of state of matter, products of combustion and the like by way of investigation of the manufacture, use and burning of a candle. If the topical method of presentation is to be used, each section of the syllabus should be built around a machine or an instrument of absorbing interest to the children or a substance like air or water familiar to them.

The historical method aims at presenting scientific principles in the way in which they were actually evolved. In the teaching of the principles of Archimedes, for instance, pupils are put in the position of Archimedes and are so directed that they may be guided into following the same course of reasoning as led Archimedes to the discovery of the principles. In the same way may be treated the preparation of oxygen by reference to the work of Priestley and Lavoisier, the life history of mosquito by reference to the work of Sir Ronald Ross and the pressure of air by reference to the experiments of Torricelli and Guericke. Such a method of approach may further lead to the study of the inter-relation of scientific discoveries and social conditions.

Science in the high school stage cannot be taught logically. The logical treatment of science like Physics, Astronomy and Physiology presupposes a knowledge of mechanics and hydrostatics which is beyond the comprehension of most high school children. The logical treatment of the biological sciences involves such long-drawn speculations and wide generalisations as can have hardly any appeal for high school

pupils. The specialist teacher of science who emulates his college professors in giving learned discourses in a logical and scientific manner cannot but nip in the bud the instinctive curiosity with which children generally look upon the world around them. To realise the purpose for which science has been made a high school subject, the teacher must psychologise the curriculum. He is not to teach sciences but to impart to his pupils such elementary scientific knowledge as may result in the development of observation, description and carefully guarded inference.

Of the various arguments which have been advanced against science being made a compulsory subject in a high school, one is that most schools are not in a position to provide necessary appliances. Such arguments are born of intellectual passivity. A resourceful and imaginative teacher can devise useful apparatus out of quite ordinary and homely things. In many schools balances and water levels, water and air pumps, compass needles, electro-magnets and electric bells have been made at nominal cost. Beautiful charts for morphological studies of plant and animal life have been drawn up. In many instances teachers and pupils have co-operated to enrich their little laboratories. Apart from the economic aspect of the results of such endeavour any co-operative venture on the part of the teacher and his pupils is fraught with immense educational possibilities.

Notes and made-easies have been the bane of literary education in Bengal. These pests have already appeared in the sacred domain of science also and unless science teachers take to their work in the right spirit, science will just be another school subject to be crammed into the pupil's head already filled to its capacity with a motley crowd of unrelated facts.

LOVE'S ANNIVERSARY

CYRIL MODAK

'Tis right the Universe that nurtured me
Should be your nurse, so she could plot against
Malignant powers to bring me to the door
Of your *swayamvar* hall where many a prince
Sat wishing that the garland of your choice
Might fall on him. 'Tis right the Universe
That taught my soul to soar through snarling clouds
And hell-girt heavens in luckless quest for Love,
Should thus irradiate your soul with grace
Till looks and words a gracious tenderness
Do phrase, should thus envisage in your life
Her own keen passion for that sovereign Love
Whose purpose moves all moving things, and stirs
Man's mind to scale the heights and dare to reach
Some Everest, pursue a flying goal
Beyond the margin of the sun.

From you
It is not passion-kindling wine I ask:
'Twould dull the finer senses to the joys
Of supersensual intercourse of heart
With heart, when life meets Life amid the stars,
And with the magic key of silence each
Unlocks a thousand *keora*-scented hopes,
Known but in dreams; when in that trembling hour
The trancéd soul beholds with other eyes
Some otherwhere fulfilment of desire;
When with closed eyes and claspéd hands, dear Heart!
Our dancing pulses keeping blissful time
To the rhythm of our breathing, ah! we learn,
With glad abandon to insurgent joy,
That Love is Beauty, Beauty that directs
All cosmic impulses till newer forms
Of life appear, and through a lover's eyes
Beauty beholds her truer loveliness
And knows her own divinity.

This love,
This beauty in a winsome human form
You are to me. Rule o'er my universe
So all the vital urge of mind and heart
Rush not to mad volcanic waste, but make
Galactic systems with new stars of thought,
New planets of desire, new suns of joy
Whose fire will not wilt the frailest flower
But touch to life brave seedlings everywhere.
Thus shall we find in life what others seek
In some myth-painted paradise beyond,
And challenge time and place and circumstance
To rob us of our squandered bliss, and know
It is not vain to live since life's our brief
And only chance when Love asks "Are you there?"
To say in some creative flash, "I am!"

Round The World

Chinese Students for British Universities.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, announced in the House of Commons on the 11th September last that arrangements were being made for bringing Chinese students into British Universities for post-graduate studies. There must have been some discussion previously on this subject and it was certainly in that context that Mr. Eden made the announcement. We are not acquainted with that context. But the Government and people of Britain know it full well that if they are to have profitable trade relations with the liberated and regenerated China, the approach must be made in a way different from what has been followed during the last one century. Since the Opium War the Britishers established a foothold in China through the mailed fist. But with the new China that is being born out of the fire, the mailed fist will be of no avail. Better cultural relations and more cordial intellectual sympathies must be established. So far most of the Chinese students who went abroad were trained in American Universities and developed in consequence a predilection for American civilisation and fondness for American society. It is very likely that the more far-sighted of British public men have felt perturbed at this state of things and appreciated the necessity of better cultural relations between Britain and China.

Recruitment to the Bengal Civil Service.

Sometime ago it was announced in the Calcutta Gazette that appointment to the Bengal Civil Service (Executive Branch) may be made wholly during the period of the war by promotion from the Bengal Junior Civil Service. Years ago the practice was that sixty-five per cent. of the vacancies in the cadre of the Bengal Civil Service would be filled by direct recruitment and thirty-five per cent. by promotion from the lower service. The members of the latter body, however, felt the injustice of this system and submitted petitions to the Government from time to time against this arrangement. They pointed out that the duties to be performed by the officers of the two services were essentially and fundamentally the same and in general education and particular qualifications also little difference was to be noticed between the two groups. In view of this the line of demarcation maintained between the two services was unjustified. If the two services were not amalgamated, as they should be, recruitment to the higher service should at least be made wholly by promotion from the lower one. The Government did not accept this point of view but by way of making concessions to the demands of the Bengal Junior Civil Service they decided to fill fifty per cent. of the vacancies in the higher service by promotion. The exigencies of war appear now to have been helpful in advancing the interests of the junior service still more. After the war the problems of the civil service organisation will call for an elaborate investigation and attention on the part of the Government. The extra-Indian recruitment for the superior service which is now a statutory obligation on the part of the Government has complicated very unnecessarily the civil service organisation in the provinces. If it is to be made more economical and at the same time more scientific, the abolition of this system will have to be insisted upon.

Co-education.

In a speech at Coimbatore the Right Hon'ble Srinivasan Sastri gave his blessing to the system of co-education which is being followed in certain institutions in this country. He pointed out that it was not only desirable on social grounds but economically it was almost indispensable. The financial resources of the country were not so strong as to make it possible to maintain separate arrangements for the instruction of boys and girls. It is unfortunate that social traditions have not encouraged the authorities of many institutions to undertake co-education. Social changes in India have been enormous in recent years. But still some of the traditions die hard. Although public opinion appears to be in favour of co-education in the highest stages, it seems to be still opposed to such instruction in the secondary stages. Even some of the colleges which experimented for some time with co-education were at first compelled to open separate sections for women students and later they were confronted with the alternatives of either holding classes for men and women students in different hours or abandoning the admission of the latter altogether. This experience of some of the educational institutions in this country is unfortunate particularly in view of the results of co-education in some other countries. A corespondent writing in the "Times Educational Supplement"[1] observes that "America is the home of co-education, China adopted it in 1919 and Soviet Russia accepted it as part of the fundamental policy for equality of educational opportunity for all its children." The adoption of this principle in the three countries named above was hailed with predictions of disaster. All the custodians of conservative traditions were loud in their prophecy that as a result of being educated together the boys would become unmanly and girls devoid of feminine qualities. The actual results have, however, become absolutely otherwise. Neither the Russian nor the Chinese youth can be charged to-day with lack of toughness and courage. The girls also cannot be accused of less mindful of their social and family duties. If co-education is responsible for any result, it is responsible for better comradeship between men and women in times of emergency. It is expected that the prejudice which lingers in this country against co-education in all stages will be sloughed off by the flow of fresh ideas which the present emergency is bringing in its train.

Supply of Rice to Ceylon.

Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Minister for Home Affairs, Ceylon, has been in India for some time in connection with the supply of rice to his country from Indian provinces. We are told that he expects 38,000 tons of rice to be sent to Ceylon every month. Of this amount it is understood that he has been promised the monthly supply of 15,000 tons from Madras. The remaining 23,000 he expects to receive from Bengal. In the latter province the number of rice-eating people is about forty-five million. To feed them, 31 crores and 50 lakhs maunds of rice are necessary per annum. Bengal has not, however, been self-sufficient in this respect. From 1935-1936 to 1939-1940, the average deficit per year was 9 crore maunds. In 1940-1941 the deficit was far larger, it being 15 crore maunds. In 1941-1942 the estimated produce in this province is 27 crores and fifty-nine maunds. Before the fall of Burma, the importation of Rangoon rice helped in meeting the deficit to a great extent. The average import of this rice per year was 1 crore and 62 lakhs maunds. In view of the shortage it is not known as to how the Government of Bengal can be helpful to Sir Baron Jayatilaka.

Wendell Willkie.

Wendell Willkie has been now touring the middle and near east. Cairo, Baghdad, and Ankara have already been visited. It has been surmised by news agencies that he may proceed to Chungking and just as he has acquainted himself with the turn of affairs in the middle and near east, so he may take the trouble of getting first hand experience of the situation on the Chinese front. At one time it was also confidently expected that India would be included in his itinerary. But it seems that this country has been dropped from his programme. Why, we do not know for certain. People may only make their own guesses. For a defeated candidate in a presidential election Mr. Willkie has kept himself unusually in the front-page news for the last two years. This keeping in the limelight on the part of a man whose name was hardly interesting to a newsreporter before his adoption as a presidental candidate by the Republican Party in the summer of 1940 is certainly very extraordinary. It at least shows that he has a flair for publicity, which counts a good deal in all countries and most in the United States. It may help him in winning the Presidential election in 1944, provided of course no soldier-candidate with great military exploits to his credit in the present war disputed his popularity and seeks the suffrage of American electors.

The Governor-General and his Council.

Since the first expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in 1941, there has been some discussion in the press as to the procedure it follows regarding the disposal of business. Under Section 313 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the executive authority is exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor-General in Council. The executive is, in other words, collegiate and not singular. It is true that since the days of Canning departmentalism has been introduced in the government of this country. The Governor-General has distributed the different departments of administration among the Members of his Council, placing himself invariably in charge of the Foreign and Political Departments and sometimes of other departments as well. As a result of this distribution of portfolios among the Members of the Council work of the routine type and of a minor character has been disposed of without reference to the Council itself. But it should be known that every decision arrived at and every order issued by a department must be regarded as emanating from the Council itself. The procedure that has been followed is briefly this. The Secretary to a department submits a case in the form of a decision and with a note of his own to the Member in charge. If the matter is non-controversial and is of minor importance, the Honourable Member decides it finally. If, however, the matter involved is controversial or of sufficient importance, he places it before the Governor-General. The Secretary to the department also has the obligation to submit the matter to the Governor-General direct and even over the head of the Hon'ble Member. The Governor-General may concur with or differ from the line of action suggested by the Member. If he differs, he may ask the Hon'ble Member to pocket his own views and allow the decision to be made in the shape in which it is acceptable to himself. If, however, the Governor-General thinks that the matter is important and should be discussed in his Council before it is disposed of, he may refer it to that body. In other words, what matter is to be submitted to the Council and what not, it is for the Governor-General to decide. He is the head of the Council and regulates the work that is to come before it.

Now, if reference of items of business to the Council is dependent merely upon the will or even the whims of the Governor-General, what then becomes of the collegiate character of the government? Except in those cases in which safety, tranquillity or interests of British India are affected and in which the Governor-General has been empowered to have his own way irrespective of the decision of the Council, the latter body bears responsibility for every action taken and every order issued by any department of the Government. How is this responsibility to be reconciled with the procedure described above? The answer to these queries is very simple. For nearly fifty years since the introduction of departmentalism, the Executive Council was exclusively European in composition and since 1909 until recently it was predominantly so. In view of this fact, it was not expected that the Governor-General would keep away from the Council any matter in which the Members might entertain strong feelings. He would not in fact allow any subject to be disposed of departmentally, in which other Members of the Council might be strongly and keenly interested. He would know it full well that however sharp might be differences of opinion, all the Members would have the same ultimate interests to uphold. Consequently every matter of sufficient importance would be referred to the Council.

The position was altered by the expansion of the Executive Council in 1941 and by its wider expansion some time ago. This body now consists of sixteen Members including the Governor-General. Of these sixteen, eleven are Indian public men. The significance of this fact must not be minimised. First of all, it should be borne in mind that the very fact of the expansion of the Executive Council to a body of sixteen members must automatically place greater authority and power in the hands of the Governor-General. Lord Curzon once observed that " the Viceroy has no more weight in his Council than any individual member of it." This observation was not true of the actual powers exercised by him at any time. The late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald described the statement as " a fanciful exaggeration of the Viceroy's weakness." The Governor-General has in fact been at all times the predominant factor of the Government of India. This predominance has been increased further by the enlargement of his Council. When the Governor-General had to act with a small body, he had to remain in touch with them all and the views and opinions of the latter certainly counted much more than now when it is not very possible for the head of the Government to be in intimate contact with all the fifteen of his colleagues. His relations with many of them can only be of a formal character today.

Secondly, it should be known that the Governor-General in Council as a collegiate body is responsible for every act of the Government of India to the Secretary of State and through him to the British Parliament. So long as this Council was exclusively or even predominantly European in composition, this responsibility could have been genuine. Even if the Indian members now included in the Council were officers of the Crown, possibly the old position might have been maintained. But eleven out of sixteen Members are Indian public men. When they agreed to be included in the Council, they so agreed with the full knowledge that for their actions they both individually and collectively were to be responsible to Whitehall. But although their legal position might be this, it would be impossible for them as Indian public men to attach as much importance to this fact as their legal position might demand. As Members responsible to the Secretary of State and through him to the British Parliament, they were expected to place British interests above all other interests. But as Indian

public men they could not be whole-hoggers in this respect. Their allegiance would at best be divided between British opinion and Indian opinion. In view of this fact it is out of the question to expect that the Governor-General and his four European colleagues would see eye to eye with the eleven Indian Members in regard to different important problems confronting the Government of India in times so troublous as these. But unless there is this agreement on fundamentals Council Government becomes impossible.

Thirdly, it should be emphasised that not only there cannot be any agreement on fundamentals between Indian and European Members of the Council but what is more the Indian Members also have little in common among them except that they are all Indians. Their ideals and affiliations are different. Their points of view are in fact sometimes as poles asunder. They have not even the advantage of serving under one leader, who, in spite of such differences, might be determined to work them as a team. In view of this no Indian Member can rely upon his colleagues in forcing any issue in the Council. If the Indian Members worked as a team they could have seen to it that all the important decisions of the different departments were the decisions of the majority of the Council. They could have compelled the Governor-General to place before it all important matters relating to the administration of different departments. But no such unanimity is possible. So departmentalism may run riot and the Viceroy may find himself in the position of the Grand Mughal.

Fostering better Understanding of Allies.

Mr. R. A. Butler, who had been at the India Office and at the Foreign Office as an Under-Secretary of State, is now the President of the Board of Education. That he is a man of ability and promise is evidenced by his promotion to his important portfolio. That he has imagination and appreciation of the problems of his country is testified to by a number of changes which he is initiating in the system of education of Great Britain. As the political head of the Department of Education he felt that if the British people were to have knowledge of the condition of things in the allied countries of the United States of America and the Soviet Union and develop greater sympathy for their civilisation and culture, it was essential that teachers and students of the British schools must have greater acquaintance with American and Soviet history and institutions. Accordingly with the co-operation of the Ambassadors of the two countries, he has " initiated highly successful short courses on the history and current affairs " of the United States and Soviet Russia. In different counties a one-day course on the U. S. A. and then a one-day course on the Soviet Union are held and teachers, five to six hundred in number and coming from different parts of the country, join these courses. Four to five lectures are delivered on important aspects of life in these countries by persons well acquainted with them. In Buckinghamshire, for instance, a one-day course on Soviet Russia was held in High Wycombe. Six hundred teachers attended. The opening lecture was on " Russia Now," the second on " Education in the U. S. S. R.", the third on " Soviet Caucasus and its People." These lectures were followed by a short programme of Russian films. The titles of the lectures would show that the organisers are serious in their desire to acquaint the teachers with true Soviet life of to-day. It would have been fitting if similar courses on Indian history and civilisation were undertaken. Ignorance about India's culture and civilisation is appalling among the British rank and file. All that they know about this country is that it is inhabited by brown people and ruled by British agents. How

much better might have been the relations between Britain and India if the people of the former were better informed about us. But the ruling class cannot be interested in the dissemination of such information. On the contrary it is interested in supplying distorted facts about Indian life to the British public. Miss Mayo's calumny, Mother India, was presented free to many members of the British public.

Strengthening Anglo-American Ties.

As a measure of economy the United States Congress has decided to reduce drastically the purchase of foreign books for its famous library. The Council of the British Publishers' Association, however, thinks that this step will retard the development of that sympathy for British life and thought, which the reading of British books would have fostered in the American public. Accordingly, it has called upon the publishers to present to the Congress Library those books which interpret British life, thought and aspirations. Such books may be regarded as " ambassador books " and the American public must have opportunity of reading them.

Plain-Speaking in the U. S. A.

There has been some surprise in many circles at the open and downright criticism of the quality of planes the American navy is using. Two Senators, one being the Chairman of the Senate Defence Investigating Committee, declared that American pilots were being supplied with inferior fighter planes. Such public criticism of a vital matter in war-time is possible only in the United States. Different factors are responsible for keeping up this tradition of plain-speaking. The first and foremost of these factors is to be found in the separation of powers in the governmental organisation of the country. This separation does not of course mean in practice what it was intended to be in theory. It has in fact been blurred to a considerably extent by circumstances. But still it cannot be overlooked altogether. Secrecy in the management of foreign affairs is again allowed in democracies like those of Britain. But in the United States it cannot be maintained in view of the fact that no treaty is effective unless it is approved of by the Senate with two-thirds majority. However strongly the President and the Secretary of State may feel about the necessity of a treaty with a particular power, they cannot have it without the consent of the Senate. This means that the President has to take not only the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee but many others also into his confidence and a secret shared by so many does not remain any longer a secret. Some at least of those who are taken into confidence not only talk about it in private but speak about and even denounce it publicly. Early in 1939 the President talked in private to a group of legislators and friends about the European policy of the United States Government. The ideas he expressed did not appeal to all present and the next day they were made public. The war again has not only to be declared but financed by the Congress. It should be remembered that neither the President nor any of the Secretaries can sit and speak in the Congress. In having the estimates adopted by this body important members of either House have consequently to be taken into confidence. What is more, the departments have also to submit to investigation either by the existing committees or by some *ad hoc* committees of the legislature. While this governmental arrangement constitutes the main reason of the tradition of plain-speaking, there are other factors involved as well. The population for instance is not homogenous and without homogeneity the

conspiracy of silence cannot be maintained. It should also be known that the Americans including the most experienced in public administration are convinced that public matters should be discussed publicly. That is the only way that things going wrong may be righted in time. By public criticism of the administration in war-time temporary advantage may possibly be given to the enemy but the improvement in arrangements which it brings about may help in the defeat of the enemy.

Churchill's Son demands a Post-War National Party.

Mr. Randolph Churchill, the son of the Premier, is like his father irrepressible. As a boy he was precocious and as a youngman he is unwilling to keep in the background. After several rebuffs he has been returned to Parliament and represents Lancashire. Recently in addressing a group of his constituents, he observed that unless the Conservative and the Labour Parties gave up meanwhile their narrow outlook and class consciousness, there would develop after the war a new party occupying a central position and upholding the interests of the nation as a whole as opposed to the interests of either labourer or employer. That Churchill and his son have reasons to be aggrieved aganist the official Conservative Party need not be emphasised. The very fact that for one full decade before the outbreak of the war Churchill was in the wilderness explains it. This does not mean that Churchill himself is less conservative in outlook and principle. But it does mean that he is unwilling after the war to restore political power to the Chamberlainists who had kept him at arm's length as long as possible and who are now keeping silent only because of the exigencies of circumstances. As for the Labour Party, dominated as it is mainly by the trade unions, its outlook is also very circumscribed and its interests are bound up with the increase in wages and the extension of the social services. Beyond these its vision does not extend. The question, however, is whether the centre party whose birth is being forecast by the junior Churchill will be really more progressive in principle and policy, as it is intended to be. On the home front it may give proof of wider outlook and longer vision but associated as it is to be with the leadership of Churchill it will certainly be equally, if not more, jingoistic in respect of the empire. British national interests are supposed to be bound up with the maintenance of the empire as it is. From this standpoint the centre party contemplated by the Premier's son will be strictly upholding national interests.

Head of the British Civil Service.

Sir Horace Wilson, the trusted man of Mr. Neville Chamberlain and the staunchest supporter of his policy of appeasement, retired some time ago from the position of the head of the British Civil Service and the Permanent Secretaryship of the Treasury and has been succeeded by Sir Richard Hopkins. The headship of the Civil Service is a position which did not exist until it was created by Mr. Baldwin. It was laid down that the man who would be appointed to the office of the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury would also be the head of the Civil Service and in this latter capacity he would be entitled to exercise certain powers which no civil servant could exercise before. It would be for instance one of his important duties to recommend to the Prime Minister the names of civil servants for appointment to responsible posts. It is possible for him, therefore, to advance the interests of those officers who are in his good books and blight the prospects of those who have failed to enlist his

support. The first civil servant appointed as head of the Civil Service was Sir Warren Fisher who was succeeded in 1939 by the favourite of Mr. Chamberlain. It is the opinion of many who have the right to speak on the subject that the introduction of this headship has been largely responsible for the deterioration of the British Civil Service. Only colourless and yes men were recommended by the head for promotion to superior posts and the officers who showed originality and tried to break new ground were as a rule shut out from these offices. So long as peace was maintained and the administration was mainly of a routine character, the blemishes of this arrangement did not attract notice. But the outbreak of the War called for men with real ability but such men were nowhere at the top. Naturally the future of the head is uncertain. In the provinces of India also there is an officer called the Chief Secretary. He is a survival of the days when many of the provinces were ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor, without a council. He administered a province with the assistance of a number of secretaries, the senior of whom was called the Chief Secretary and exercised considerable authority. Later when "council government" was introduced and between the departmental Secretaries and the Governor were interposed the Hon'ble Members, the position of the Chief Secretary became anomalous. But he continued all the same. His salary was Rs. 1,000 more than that of any other Secretary and consequently it was thought that the abolition of the Chief Secretaryship would undermine the interests and prospects of the Civil Service. In the years of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms protest was now and again made against the continuance of this office. The late Sir C. Y. Chintamoni had many strong words to use against the continuance of this highly salaried but redundant post. But protest was of no avail. The financial interests of the Civil Service were to be placed above administrative necessity. And to this day this functionary remains safely installed in his fat berth.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Sankaracharyya.—By Suryanarayana Sastri. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Pp. 128+viii. Price As. 12.

Among the philosophical systems that have appeared in the history of human culture, the Advaita Vedanta occupies a very high and pre-eminent position. There is hardly any system of philosophy in the East or the West which can compare with it in point of the depth and comprehensiveness of speculative thought. In it we have a sublime type of idealism to which there is no exact parallel in the history of philosophy. It has, of course, been as much admired by some as it has been despised by others. While some great minds find it to be 'the solace of their life and the solace of their death,' not a few would condemn it as a philosophy not of life but of death, not of reality but of illusion, and even as something 'not deserving the name of philosophy.' The doctrine of *maya*, which is an important part of the Advaita Vedanta, is generally made the ground of these grave allegations against it. Accordingly, Sankaracharyya who is perhaps the greatest exponent of Advaita philosophy, is regarded by some uninformed critics as "the Acharyya of illusionism."

The book under review, we hope, will serve to disabuse the minds of these perverse critics and give them a better idea about Sankara and his philosophy. It is divided into three sections, of which the first gives a fairly accurate and general account of the life of Sankara. The second part discusses at some length the list of all the works attributed to Sankara. In the last part we have an account of the philosophy of Sankara, which is based mainly on his commentary on the first four Vedanta sutras. A close study of this small book will show that Sankara was not so much an iconoclast in philosophy and religion as a sober rationalist who could appreciate the value of the different attitudes and pursuits of life from different levels of experience. Considered as an abstract philosophy of the understanding, Sankara's Advaita may be supposed to involve certain inconsistencies and contradictions and to leave no room for morality and religion. But if we would, as we should take it as a real philosophy of life, it may be said to comprehend and synthesise all the aspects of human experience and give us the rationale for science, morality and religion. The present book provides a compendious and authentic account of the fundamental positions of Sankara's philosophy. The learned author has judiciously avoided many of the dry technicalities and wearisome controversies in Sankarite philosophy and put it in a simple, clear and concise form. The book will be of great use to those who want to have a clear and correct idea of Sankara's philosophy and should have wide circulation as it deserves.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

Essentials of Rural Development.—By E. V. S. Maniam. Published by Patt and Company, Cawnpore. 1938.

The problem of rural development of India is in reality a problem of partial urbanisation of rural areas. The economic condition of the people has to be improved through scientific agriculture and industry run

on modern lines; better sanitation, means of transport and machinery of local self-government have to be provided, educational institutions, cinemas, clubs, libraries and places of public resort have to be established; propaganda has to be directed against superstition and narrowness with a view to the expansion of the human spirit.

In this task agriculture and industrialisation with all that it implies, must go hand in hand. In this connection we can hardly over-emphasise the well-known theory of Frederich List: In a country devoted to mere raw agriculture, dullness of mind, awkwardness of body, obstinate adherence to old notions, customs, methods and processes, want of culture, of prosperity and liberty prevail. The spirit of striving for a steady increase in mental and bodily acquirements, of emulation and of liberty, characterise, on the contrary, a state devoted to manufactures and commerce.

Mr. Maniam's book "Essentials of Rural Development" is addressed to this vast moral and material problem with which the Indian nation is faced today. The present work is a revised and enlarged version of a paper submitted to the 13th Session of the World Cooperator's Conference, Paris, 1938. The author's case for rural reconstruction is irresistible. He brings to the task a considerable wealth of documentary learning. The economic problems connected with land, such as, Irigation, scientific farming, land tenure and fragmentation; problems of credit, *viz.*, rural indebtedness, land mortgage banks, Cooperative banks, Reserve Bank of India and its Rural Credit Department; problems of College-industries; problems of transport and marketing; problems relating to human factors—those connected with sanitation, public health and education are discussed with commendable earnestness, sincerity and objectivity. Special emphasis is laid on cooperation as a key to the solution of these problems. Comparison of Indian Conditions to the experiences of some other countries is introduced with some effect.

It is, however, a pity that Mr. Maniam does not appear to be willing to profit by the Russian experiment. He does not care to discuss problems like nationalisation of land, collectivisation of agriculture or electrification of college industries and rural areas. The social and moral life of the rural people and the machinery of local self-government do no receive the attention that they deserve. Mr. Maniam seems to follow strictly 'orthodox' lines and is disposed to think in terms of government reports and policies. The book also appears to be overburdened with some quotations which might have been omitted without any deterioration in the quality of the production. The author appends short and insufficient economic notes on the following Indian States; Baroda, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Kolahpur, Jodhpur, Indore, Travancore, Cochin, Bhopal, Gwalior, Patiala, Nownagar, Bikaner, Bhavnagar and Rampur. The omission of the progressive state of mysore where Cooperation has made some headway is curious. Finally, Mr. Maniam, for reasons of his own, has defaced the book by the insertion of inefficiently executed photographs of minor state officials; and the publishers have insulted the taste of the modern reader by their miserable printing and get-up of the book.

NIRMAL BHATTACHARYYA

A Brief Summary of Five Lectures—Delivered by T. M. Krishnamachari, M.A., B.L., on the Early History of Kerala. Published by the University of Travancore.

The author has under preparation a *History of Kerala* from the earliest times to 1730. A brief summary may be an excellent advertise-

ment for the book to come but does not deserve a detailed review. Nobody expects in a brief summary a satisfactory solution of the problem of how to relate the infiltration of Brahmins and Aryan practices into Sangam South India with the Namboodiri Nayar epoch. On p. 16, we read "A satisfactory solution of Keralolpathi will furnish us with some clues" ; the origin of the special practices to be found in Malabar is also a great point of interest. We are only told on p. 17, "the question of property succession is one too difficult to be handled here." Let us hope that in the bigger book to come we will have very satisfactory answers to these questions.

Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology.—By Braz A. Fernandes. Published by the Bombay Historical Society. Price Rs. 5.

A Bibliography of Indian History and Oriental Research was published for the first time in 1938 by the Bombay Historical Society. The Annual Bibliography for 1939, has been issued under an altered arrangement. It includes books and articles from periodicals on Indian History and Indology in general. Some books published in 1937, are noticed most probably because they were not noticed in the bibliography issued in 1938. The reviewer is glad to find that even books and articles written in Bengali have been noticed. The sections into which the book is divided are perhaps too many and there have been some mistakes in arrangement. The Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume has been placed under the heading Kashmir and Rajputana. The attention of the editor is also drawn to the fact that most of the articles published in Bengal, Past and Present, in 1939 as also in subsequent years have been reproduced from the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission and he should not refer in preference to Bengal, Past and Present.

The Annual Bibliography is a very useful publication for which advanced students of Indian history should be grateful to the Bombay Historical Society. We only hope that the Annual Bibliography will be maintained and there will be no avoidable delay in publication.

N. K. SINHA

Must We Fight ?—By Shaheed Pravin. Published by Pravin Publication, Calcutta and Bombay. Pp. ii+176. Price As. 12.

The author introduces himself as a business-man of twenty-six who writes on financial topics. Without identifying himself with any political party, he takes great interest in politics and assures his readers that his opinions on India's political problems "will be heard more widely and frequently hereafter."

Obviously a first venture and the work of one comparatively young, this book is characterised by the use of vigorous language for the expression of what many would call leftist views. The author's preference for socialism and his admiration for the U. S. S. R. are obvious. This is evident from the pains he has bestowed in tabulating the charges against Russia and in meeting them one by one to the best of his ability. Naturally, all his information is derived from books which he seems to have studied assiduously and profitably.

Like other socialists, Mr. Pravin believes and tries to impress on his readers the view that the present war, originally one between so-called

imperialist powers, has been changed into a peoples' war by Germany's attack on Russia. A chapter is devoted to a review of the policy followed by the Congress from the time the Congress ministries resigned and the organisation is found fault with for this attitude, the author, like other socialists believing that adherence to theoretical considerations only is not the way to success in practical politics. In the next chapter, a natural corollary, the doctrine of Ahimsa is criticised. Mahatma Gandhi is described as a mystic who has led the Congress astray. The writer is quite frank in advising him to retire from participation in active politics. Incidentally, the stock arguments against pacifism are marshalled with skill and clarity.

Up to this, the seventh chapter, Mr. Shaheed Pravin has not much to say that is either new or original. In the next chapter, devoted to the discussion of the communal problem, we find him breaking new ground. He would have the Congress revise its technique adopting one calculated to secure the allegiance of all religious and social groups. Some details of the scheme he sponsors are supplied. The central idea of his approach to the problem is that of marshalling under one banner, the various conflicting groups and interests, by placing before them the achievement of common political and economic ends—a suggestion also made but in a very general way by other writers on the same subject.

The reviewer regards this chapter as the most original and valuable part of the book but he feels that the acceptance of the recommendations made by the author is doubtful as it presupposes a complete change in the policy of the Congress leadership of which so far there is no sign.

The two chapters, "Futility of Peace Talks" and "The Struggle of the Oppressed Nations" are devoted to emphasising the facts that permanent peace is an impossibility with the presence of fascism in the world and that all freedom-loving countries must unite to uproot it. Here too we do not come across anything new though in the last of these two chapters, the ideas are conveyed in an attractive and forceful way.

The chapter "Our Task Now" is valuable giving as it does the author's suggestions as regards the practical ways in which India can defend herself, help Britain in her hour of trial and train herself to ultimately take charge of her defence.

The impression left on the reviewer after reading the book is the obvious sincerity of the writer and his independence in thinking out things for himself and arriving at his own conclusions. There are occasional lapses into faulty language as well as some printing mistakes probably due to hurry in seeing the book through the press which, it is hoped, will disappear when the next edition is published. It is also desirable that it should be brought up-to-date for it was probably written before the invasion and occupation of Malaya and Burma by Japan.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselves

[*I. A New Fellow.—II. Preliminary Law Examination.—III. Intermediate Examination in Law.—IV. University Representative on the Text-Book Committee.—V. Eradication of Tea Pests.—VI. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal.*]

I. A New Fellow

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Mr. Harsanath Sen, M.Sc , Principal, Cotton College, Gauhati, to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University in place of Rai Bahadur Bejay Chandra Sengupta, resigned.

* * *

II. Preliminary Law Examination

154 candidates were registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, June, 1942. 79 passed, 12 were absent and one expelled. Of the successful candidates 5 passed in the First Division and 74 in the Second.

* * *

III. Intermediate Examination in Law

172 candidates were registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law. 102 candidates passed, 49 failed and 21 were absent. Of the successful candidates 8 passed in the First Division and 94 in the Second.

* * *

IV. University Representative on the Text-Book Committee

Mr. Anathnath Basu, M.A. (Lond.), T.D. (London), has been appointed representative of the University on the Bengal Text-Book Committee.

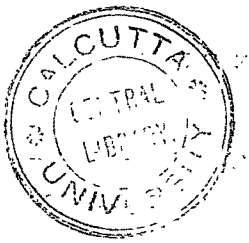
V. Eradication of Tea Pests

The University has accepted the offer of Rs. 8,800 made by the Indian Tea Planters' Association for research on the Eradication of Tea Pests. The work in this connection will be undertaken in the laboratory of the Zoology Department.

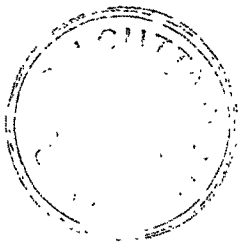
* * *

VI. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal

On the reports of Mr. A. Reid and Dr. Sahayram Bose, the University has awarded Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Scientific subjects for the year 1941 to Messrs. Narayanchandra Sengupta and Bhupendranath Ghose. The former submitted a thesis on Studies in Wall Building Properties of Oil-Well Drilling Muds and the latter on Physiological Studies on the effect of Colchicine of Rice.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW



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DECEMBER, 1942

THE ROWLATT BILL IN THE LEGISLATURE

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

THE second Rowlatt Bill under the title of the "Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill" was introduced by Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 6th February, 1919. He moved that it be referred to a Select Committee. Mr. V. J. Patel moved that the consideration of the Bill be deferred till six months had elapsed after the expiry of the term of office of the Imperial Legislative Council functioning then and, in doing so, declared "that the whole country was entirely opposed to the measure" and that "this would be amply proved not only then and there but also in the new legislature."

Mr. Patel was supported by Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Kamini Kumar Chanda, M.A. Jinnah, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. N. Sarma, K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Mian Muhammad Shafi, Rao Bahadur B. D. Sukul, Tej Bahadur Sapru, G. S. Khaparde, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, B. N. Sarma, the Rajah of Mahmudabad, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and many others. From this partial list of names it is evident that opposition came from representatives of every province of British India and of every caste and creed. Maung Bath Too, who was representing Burma, voted with the non-official Indians.

V. J. Patel

The general feeling of the non-official members as of the country at large was expressed by V. J. Patel in the speech delivered by him in support of his amendment. Here he foretold that the introduction of the Bill would stir up and, as a matter of fact, had " already stirred up a tremendous and unprecedented agitation at a time when great changes are in sight. . . It is one of those blunders which a Government not responsible to the people is likely to commit in moments of excitement."

Continuing he said :

" What I am, however, surprised at really is that a Bill of this kind should have been brought forward at a time when people really expected the introduction and discussion in the Council of measures which would bring them more liberty, more contentment, measures which really would conduce to the greater well-being of the people in matters political, in matters social, and in matters industrial. At a time like this when the war has ended triumphantly for us, at a time when the Peace Conference is sitting to devise measures for the peace of the world, at a time when we are within sight of great constitutional reforms in India; at a time when one of the Indians is made a member of the British cabinet, at such a time, instead of bringing forward measures which would really conduce to the well-being of Indians, a measure of this character should have been brought forward. That is a matter which surprises me. I do not at all wish to go into the merits of the measure at the present moment. I say, to say the least of these measures, they are inopportune, and they should not have been brought forward at this juncture."

The three things which stand out clearly from the above quotation are first that the Rowlatt Bill was a blunder, possible only in an alien Government out of touch with the country it ruled, that it was inopportune and that it was likely to lead to an unprecedented agitation.

S. N. Banerjea

Surendra Nath Banerjea in supporting V. J. Patel, observed that he expressed the views of the Moderates when he said that the Bill had " created widespread anxiety and even alarm in the public mind of India " for it contained matter which " constitutes a peril to the sacred rights of personal liberty which Englishmen value so much "

and which they, India's " masters in the great art of constitutional Government have taught the people of India to prize." He deplored the placing of what he called " illimitable power " in the hands of the Executive and pointed out that the Defence of India Act would be operative up to the end of 1919, after which it could be revived by an ordinance of the Viceroy up to June, 1920. Regulation III of 1818, part of the permanent law of the land, could also be used for dealing with terrorism.

Convinced that the passing of the Rowlatt Bill would lead to an India-wide agitation, S. N. Banerjea stated :

" If there is one truth which should be burnt in upon the souls of the rulers of men it is this, that no measure, be it administrative or legal, can be successfully worked except with the willing concurrence and co-operation of the people. If a measure alienates popular sympathies, sets up the people in arms against you, gives rise to the fiercest agitation, it is doomed, foredoomed to failure. I very much fear that is the case with the present Bill. The agitation has already commenced; it is growing and it will grow, day by day."

Towards the conclusion of his speech, S. N. Banerjea made a pathetic appeal to the Home Member to stay his hand observing that the country at large and along with it he, an old man, wanted "peace, freedom from agitation, from conflict and controversy." He asked that India should be saved " from being precipitated into the vortex of an agitation which was bound to excite the fiercest passions " and which would " dissipate that atmosphere of peacefulness, tranquillity, of mutual trust and mutual confidence " which had resulted from the Reforms proposals and which the Moderates " have tried to deepen, to extend and to promote."

The above extracts indicate that the opposition to the Bill was one based on principles, that it was regarded as needless as terrorism could be combated with the help of existing laws and that S. N. Banerjea with his experience of the agitation against the partition of Bengal, after all a provincial matter, had come to realise the depth of the feelings roused and the India-wide agitation then starting against the Bill Finally, he pointed out that all the work the Moderates, the supporters of Government, had done to make the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals acceptable to the country, would be rendered nugatory if the measure was forced through the legislature.

S. N. Banerjea was followed by Kamini Kumar Chanda of Assam,

who spoke on the same lines. He and V. J. Patel represented what may be regarded as extremist views.

M. A. Jinnah

Quoting some of the provisions of the Bill, Mr. M. A. Jinnah proved how contrary they were to our conceptions of civil liberties and maintained that "no man who loves fair play. who loves justice and who believes in the freedom and the liberty of the people could possibly give his consent to it." Stating that he was aware that the Bill could be passed with the help of the official *bloc*, he enquired why Government was defying public opinion when Mr. Montagu accompanied by the Viceroy had, only a short time before, toured all over India to ascertain the views of different social, religious and political groups. He asked why the sanction of public opinion was sought when India was asked to assume additional financial responsibilities amounting to £45 million per annum for the maintenance of larger armies outside her own borders. If Indian opinion counted then, why should it fail to do so when other interests were concerned.

Mr. Jinnah based his opposition on seven grounds the last of which in his own language was as follows :—

"I do not wish to state it by way of any threat or intimidation to Government, but I wish to state it because it is my duty to tell you that if these measures are passed, you will create in this country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation, the like of which you have not witnessed, and it will have, believe me, a most disastrous effect upon the good relations that have existed between the Government and the people."

Here we have the opinion of an eminent lawyer looking at the Bill from the legal point of view. We have also a warning as to the results which were likely to ensue through official obstinacy. Like Extremists and Moderates, Mr. Jinnah, pillar of the Muslim League, also realised the gravity of the situation.

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya criticised the major clauses of Part I and some of Part II and ended by stating that not mistrust of the people as betrayed by the general tenor of the Bill but a policy of confidence in them was the proper way to deal with terrorism. B. D. Sukul, who followed Pundit Malaviya spoke in the same strain.

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

The Home Member in charge of the Bill had permitted himself to say that the fitness of India for self-government would be judged by the support given to the Bill by the non-official Indian members. Dr. Sapru enquired whether if they did so, the British "would be prepared to give up all their opposition to our (Indian) claim for self-government." He went on to say that even if the non-official members did what was expected from them, Indians would be "face to face with a multitude of arguments of a different character to show that they have not yet developed character and capacity for government."

Dr. Sapru made clear the reasons for his opposition to the Bill when he said that he must fight it

"as a lawyer trained in the British system of jurisprudence, as an Indian who loves his country and is interested in the ordered progress of this country and wants self-government . . . who is anxious for the permanent connection between India and England."

After stating that he had passed the previous few months in touring the country with the Reforms Committee and had thus come to have some idea of the feelings prevalent in it, Dr. Sapru, one of our most level-headed public men, who always measures carefully every word he utters, said,

"Already there is a wave of indignation running through the country; from one end to the other protest meetings are being held. Do not dismiss them with a wave of the hand and say 'Oh! well, all this will pass away.' What was impossible in this country ten years back is no longer impossible now. Political feeling has been growing in this country; political consciousness is much stronger to-day than it was ten years ago, and what the country was prepared to put up with ten years ago, it is not prepared to put up with now. You are going to throw the country into a whirlpool of agitation such as it has never witnessed before."

Mr. G. S. Khaparde, a reputed Extremist, based his objections on legal grounds and referred to the great apprehensions felt all over India that the Bill, if passed, would make political discussions impossible.

Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, who followed Mr. Khaparde supported S. N. Banerjea observing that he would be failing in his duty as a member unless he gave Government "true and faithful

advice " and pleaded for the consideration of the Bill under more favourable conditions.

B. N. Sarma

Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma, a Moderate, analysed some of the implications of the Bill stating that its introduction was " a confession of inefficiency, a confession of absolute failure " on the part of British officials to win the love and esteem of the people whom they had ruled so long. The British Government, he said, had succeeded in destroying Prussianism. If the Bill was passed, it would amount to an admission that the administration had resolved to establish it in India. The position of the Moderates would become most invidious for it would enable their political opponents to say that the loyal cooperaion they had all along offered to Government had been welcomed so long as it did not run counter to its policy and that their views had been rejected as soon as they put forward such as were not relished by it.

Sir George Lowndes

The Law Member, Sir George Lowndes, said that officials had every desire to be guided by Indian public opinion. But he added if " we are asked to surrender our own judgment, maturely and carefully come to, on a very difficult question of policy, it is impossible for us to do so even to the unanimous opinion of non-official members who are not in the position of responsibility in which the Government is." Continuing he said, " We have made our choice, and we think, as a Government, we have made the right choice and the only choice that is possible to us."

Referring to the warnings about agitation given by some members, Sir George Lowndes said,

" We had one form of argument which really was, put into plain language, the threat of agitation. This is an argument to which no reasonable Government can give way."

These extracts make abundantly clear the determination of British officials to see the matter through whatever the cost. But they were counting without a new factor in Indian politics—Mahatma Gandhi. Nor does it seem that they were at all aware of the change

in the temper of India—one of the effects of the war which had just come to an end.

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

The last non-official Indian to speak was Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. He held that the Home Member had over-stated his case when he had observed that unless the Bill was passed, Government would be helpless before terrorism for the extension of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1918 were there. The Rowlatt Committee had not given any mandate or made any proposals that their suggestions should be embodied in permanent legislation involving alterations in the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. With peace in the land, it was not necessary for Government to equip itself with repressive laws. This could be justified only if there was recrudescence of terrorism.

Mr. Sastri refused to accept the Government view that the innocent would be safe and in that connection observed, "a bad law passed is not always used against the bad" specially where an alien Government is concerned. Drawing upon his own experience in support of this contention he said,

"I can remember a very valued friend of mine . . . telling me with almost tears in his eyes, 'I have borne a good character all along but I have recently become a suspect of the Criminal Investigation Department and my life is passed in bitterness and in sorrow.' . . . I can remember in the year, 1908, when I went round organising District Congress Committees, such a blight had fallen on the political world, the Criminal Investigation Department had been so active, the repressive policy of Government had been so manifest, that it was impossible in many places to get people to come together to a public meeting. . . A gentleman high in office at that time and about to retire from service met me in the middle of the night on one occasion. . . He told me 'My dear fellow, I have been longing to see you these three or four days that you have been here, but this place swarms with spies and informers. I am nearing my pension and have many children, I do not wish to be mixed up with a member of the Servants of India Society to their knowledge'."

Mr. Sastri maintained that his own experience proved that when Government adopts a repressive policy, the innocent are not safe.

Even men like him would not be safe. In driving home this argument he said,

"The innocent man is he, who forswears politics, who takes no part in the public movements of the times; who retires into his house, mumbles his prayers, pays his taxes and *salaams* all the Government officials round. The man, who interferes in politics, the man who goes about collecting money for any public purpose, the man who addresses a public meeting, becomes a suspect, I am always on the border-land and I therefore for personal reasons if not for nothing else, undertake to say that the possession in the hands of the Executive of powers of this drastic nature will not hurt only the wicked. It will hurt the good as well as the bad, and there will be such a lowering of public spirit, there will be such a lowering of the political tone in the country, that all your talk of responsible government will be mere mockery. You may enlarge your Councils, you may devise wide electorates, but the men that will then fill your Councils will be toadies, timid men, and the bureaucracy, armed with these repressive powers, will reign unchecked under the outward forms of a democratic Government. We are all anxious to punish the wicked. . . The price even for the extinction of wickedness that is demanded is far too high. Much better, it seems an ungracious thing to say, much better that a few rascals should walk abroad, than that the honest man should be obliged for fear of the law of the land, to remain shut up in his house, to refrain from the activites which it is in his nature to indulge in, to abstain from all politcal and public work merely because there is a dreadful law in the land."

Mr. Sastri then pointed out how the offer of "satisfying measures of political emancipation" would cut away the ground from beneath the feet of the terrorists by making the people regard them as enemies of all progress. He was prepared, he said, to face public odium provided he felt that this was necessary for the good of the country but he did not regard defiance to it as any great virtue even where an alien administration was concerned.

Mr. Sastri wound up his speech by saying that it was beneath the dignity of the Moderates to encourage violent agitation in the country because

"The agitation must be there already. The heart must be throbbing if any words that we use here can have a possible effect on the general political atmosphere. The agitation is there. I wish to assure my official colleagues that none of us has had a share yet in

the business, but if our appeals fall flat, if the Bill goes through, I do not believe there is anyone here, who would be doing his duty if he did not join the agitation. . . I do not indulge in any threat. I have yet borne no part in this agitation, but if everything goes wrong, if we are face to face with this legislation, how it is possible for me with the views that I hold to abstain from agitation, I for one cannot say."

Throughout the debate, it was emphasised that India's unanimous opposition to the Rowlatt Bill which came from both Extremists and Moderates was based on principles. It was contended that while the investment of extraordinary powers in such an emergency as war is justifiable, it is indefensible to entrust identical powers to the bureaucracy permanently under legislation as it is totally opposed to our ideas of civil liberty. It was no doubt true that sedition and terrorism had raised their ugly heads in India but there was ample evidence that this was confined to certain areas and to a limited number of persons only. Besides, the powers Government already enjoyed were sufficient to enable it to cope with the menace. Warning after warning was also given that forcing the Act on an unwilling India would lead to grave discontent which was likely to find expression in India-wide agitation.

Sir William Vincent

The positon of Government was made clear in two speeches made by the Member in charge of the Rowlatt Bill. In the first of these delivered in the 12th March, 1919, he emphasised the urgent need for the measure and again on the last day of the discussion when it was passed he said that " Government were convinced of the necessity of the legislation." In the speech made on the latter occasion, he said that " from 1906 up to the date of the (Rowlatt) Report (July, 1918), there were no less than 311 offences and attempts at offences connected with the revolutionary movement in which 1,038 persons were known to be implicated."

Commenting on this particular statement, the Editor of the *Modern Review*, who has never failed to preserve a balanced judgment in his pronouncements on public affairs observed,

" Taking these figures to be correct, there were 26 such offences per annum on the average in a country having an area of 1,802,629 square miles and a poulation of 315,156,396. We have no desire to

minimise the gravity of these offences; but surely it is too much to expect people to support most draconian laws, endangering the lives and liberties of individuals, at a time when the country is quiet and at peace, when, for whatever reason, there is no anarchism or revolutionary crime in the country,—simply because in twelve past years 1,038 persons out of 315,156,396 committed 311 offences."

As was only to be expected, V. J. Patel's amendment when put to vote, was defeated, all the non-official Indians, elected and nominated, voting for it. The motion of Government for reference to the Select Committee was carried. This was on the 7th February, 1919.

Before proceeding further, the reader should be informed that the original proposal was that the Rowlatt Bill when passed would be a permanent measure, but an amendment was accepted by Government in the Select Committee limiting its continuance to three years dating from the termination of the war.

Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P., in an article entitled " Unrest in India " contributed to the *Asiatic Review* in July, 1920, condemned " the weakness shown by the Government " in the face of " the clamour raised by the agitators " as the result of which the life of the Rowlatt Act was limited to three years only. This merely goes to show that British officials had the support of many of their countrymen who had retired to England and come to occupy responsible positions there and that such people continued to retain their old mentality.

Consideration of Select Committee Report

On the 1st March, 1919, Sir William Vincent presented the report of the Select Committee with a note of dissent signed by Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjea, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mian Muhammad Shafi and a second one signed by Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury. Three members of the Select Committee, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Messrs. G. S. Khaparde and V. J. Patel had not signed the report at all each of them submitting separate notes. Here again, the opposition to the Bill was representative in character.

On the 12th March, 1919, the Home Member moved that the report of Select Committee on the Bill be taken into consideration when it was found that there were no less than 185 amendments on it. S. N. Banerjea moved an amendment to the effect that " the Select

Committee Report, together with the Bill and the connected papers, be returned to Local Governments, High Courts and public bodies for criticism." In the speech delivered on this occasion, he declared that "public opinion still desired Government to pause and consider the Bill further." He therefore pleaded for time and said that he was sure that there would be a political agitation of the most serious kind if the Bill was passed and referred to the agitation which had followed the partition of Bengal. He was supported by Dr. Sapru, the Maharajah of Cossimbazar and by Messrs. Chanda, Khaparde, Sukul and Shafi, who pointed out that the amendments which stood in their names were practically to the same effect as Mr. Bannerjea's and expressed the desire that they should be considered together.

This amendment, the only one to which reference is made here, was put to the vote and was defeated by 36 votes to 25 from which it is evident that Government again used its majority for carrying through its purpose against the wishes of the elected and nominated Indians, who were voicing Indian opinion. The two elected members who did not vote against Government were Europeans representing commercial interests. The Government motion that the Select Committee's report be taken into consideration was adopted, all the non-Indians voting in its favour.

The Bill was next considered clause by clause. In view of what has been said already, the fate which overtook the non-official amendments need hardly be referred to. Not one of the 185 amendments moved by the non-official members was accepted in full only six being accepted partially.

The explanation given by Government for its refusal to accept the different amendments in the language of Sir Verney Lovett, a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, as given on page 201 of his *History of the Indian Nationalist Movement* was that it was prepared to consider all modifications except such as would render the Bill "ineffective for the purpose for which it was designed." Sir Verney has maintained that this "promise was strictly fulfilled" by the partial acceptance of six out of one hundred and eighty-five amendments brought forward and that the Bill was "returned to the Council modified in every reasonably possible particular." Sir Verney's conclusion on the matter is that "while the action of the Government was eminently conciliatory, the non-official Indian members remained obdurate."

Officials held that the Moderates in the Imperial Legislative Council were quite aware of the realities of the situation and of their duty to lend their support to Government which had established a claim on their co-operation by the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. They not only failed to take any steps to counteract the misrepresentations regarding the purport and contents of the Rowlatt Bill but denounced its provisions in their public utterances. When disturbances consequent on the Rowlatt Satyagraha broke out, the Moderates, it is true enough blamed the rioters but at the same time they critised the steps taken by the administration to suppress them.

Here the non-Indian officials overlooked the fact that as Indians, the Moderates could not but oppose any legislative measure calculated to make serious inroads into the liberties of the children of the soil and also criticise objectionable methods for combating disorders where the victims were their own countrymen.

The disappointment of non-Indians due to the lack of support from Moderates in the above directions found expression in an article entitled "The Moderates of the Right and Centre" in *Political India* (p. 70) by Mr. J. Arther Jones, C.I.E., editor of the Anglo-Indian daily *The Statesman* who said,

"When in 1919, the Rowlatt Bills were introduced, the Moderates were weighed and found wanting."

K. T. Paul on the Official Attitude

K. T. Paul, National Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, a nationalist Christian Indian, who had travelled extensively in the West and established contacts with Indians and non-Indians everywhere, the author of *The British Connection with India*, was a great believer in the maintenance of India's partnership with Britain. He was at Delhi, when the Rowlatt Bill was being considered in the Imperial Legislative Council and has given in the above-mentioned book an account of what he saw and heard there at that time. This is what he says on page 132 of his book about the unyielding attitude of British officials in this matter.

"On a Saturday (16th March, 1919), Sir William Vincent was persuaded to allow a day to intervene in the passage of the Rowlatt Act; it was to be taken up on the Monday and, as all the world

expected to be forced through to conclusion. I remember that particular Sunday (17th March, 1919), I called on Mr. Marris, Sir William Vincent's Secretary. I called also on Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. With neither of them did I discuss the Bill; but in their rooms and wherever I went in Delhi the atmosphere had one even temperature of set determination; hope had fled from both sides. The Service was determined to vest the Executive with extraordinary powers to deal with sedition. The Indian members refused to accept legislation which was a flagrant evidence of distrust, and in the situation of that hour, with the Reform Bill on the anvil, an absolute insult to the whole nation. Next day (18th March, 1919) in the Council the most earnest appeals were made to Government to desist. Every non-official Indian member, without a single exception, voted against the Bill. The only Indian, who voted for it was the Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and he had abstained from any participation in the whole debate. But the Service, represented at the time by Sir William Vincent, was relentless. It had gone too far to step back. Apparently the loss of prestige would be disastrous!

"Not that reason only. The disease was more fundamental. The Service was really incapable of sharing in the change of attitude in so many circles in Britain, which had made it necessary for the Cabinet to make the 'Declaration of August 20' which had resulted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and in all those extraordinary moves for giving Indians recognition and opportunities in the highest spheres of Imperial administration. Britain at its heart was telling India in the unmistakable language of actions that henceforth the relationship is not to be of 'rulers and ruled' but of partners in one enterprise, working for mutual benefits and common ends in terms of mutual confidence; whereas the Service in India remained unaffected in its traditional attitude of scientific benevolence, administered with official efficiency and safeguarded by a halo of prestige."

The above extract from K. T. Paul's book as well as the speeches of Sir George Lowndes and Sir William Vincent reveal the unbending attitude of British officials in the matter of forcing the Bill on India in spite of the unanimous opposition of all Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council. As they were prepared to shoulder all the responsibility, there cannot be much doubt that a major part of the blame for the unhappy incidents which followed the agitation against the Rowlatt Act must be laid at their doors.

The Passing of the Rowlatt Act

On the 18th March, 1919, the Home Member moved the passing of the Bill. Mr. V. J. Patel moved that the Bill should be republished. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea maintained that the measure was "unwise and inexpedient" and "implored the Viceroy personally to postpone the measure." Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya pleaded that it was not right for Government "to carry the measure against the desire of the representatives of the people" though he admitted that it could be done with the help of the official *bloc*. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri delivered one of his most eloquent speeches and asked Government "to show some consideration for Indian public opinion." The Bill was passed by 35 to 20 votes and became the law of the land under the title of "The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act."

It appears that just after the Rowlatt Act was passed, some friend of India in the House of Commons asked the question as to whether objections against it had been universal. The answer given by the Government spokesman was that the Moderates who represented the stable, intelligent, educated and practical element in the public life of India had not *as a party* (italic ours) entered any formal protest. This was regarded as disingenuous for, at the meeting of the Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference held in April, 1919, the following resolution was passed unanimously.

"The passing of the Rowlatt Act in the face of the unanimous opposition of the Indian public was an unwise step and the Committee appeal to the Secretary of State to advise His Majesty to disallow it."

The Bureaucracy's Responsibility

From the short time devoted to the consideration of this controversial piece of legislation, it is clear that the measure was forced through the Council at almost breakneck speed, the members one day continuing their deliberations even after 1 A.M., a record for such bodies in our motherland. The Bill before it became law was not, as is customary, published in the Provincial gazettes, nor was any attempt made to ascertain the opinion of the Provincial governments, the different High Courts and representative public bodies.

The non-official Indian members had displayed no lack of zeal, courage and statesmanship, logic and mastery of facts to induce Government to drop the Bill and, failing that, to introduce such modifications as would tend to make it less objectionable. But all their

efforts, as proved by the 185 amendments proposed by them, were rendered nugatory by the official *bloc*. Explaining the lack of success which had rewarded their efforts, a veteran publicist said at that time that " the deciding factor was not the value of the things said, but the numbers . . . The officials thought that it is they who were always in the right."

Commenting on this aspect of the matter, the Editor of the *Modern Review* in the April, 1919, issue of his periodical said,

" The debates on the Rowlatt Bill show for the hundredth time the spirit of uncompromising autocracy which inspires the bureaucrats. Their every act and utterance proclaim : ' We are the earthly Providence for you, we shall decide what is good for you. You have only to thankfully accept our decision '."

A British official, an ardent advocate of the strong arm policy, after his retirement from service in India, published a book entitled *The Lost Dominion* in which he very bitterly criticised what he considered the weak-kneed policy of the British Government in yielding to the political demands of India. Wise in his generation, he said on page 257 of his book that " Repression is justifiable when, and only when, it is necessary. If the emergency does not exist, repression is inadmissible." And may an Indian add that the enacting of repressive laws merely in anticipation of an emergency is still more inadmissible? Easily available facts go to prove that the Rowlatt Act was passed at a time when there was no state of emergency or any indication that the State was actually endangered by the reprehensible activities of terrorists. There cannot be any doubt that this statement, only one out of many made at that time, proves how inadequate was the knowledge of Indian affairs and how poor the statesmanship of those responsible for the Rowlatt Act.

Sir George Schuster, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., M.C., M.P., formerly Finance Minister to the Government of India and Mr. Guy Wint published a book entitled *India and Democracy* in June, 1941. In it they have dealt with the fundamental issues which must be faced for the successful working of democracy in our motherland. On page 10 of this book occurs a significant statement, made in a different connection which throws such a flood of light on the psychology lying at the back of the Rowlatt Act that it is quoted here for the information of the reader. It is stated there that,

" In the long run a government will always encroach upon freedom to the extent to which it has the power to do so; this is almost

a natural law of politics, since, whatever the intentions of the men who exercise political power, the sheer momentum of government leads to a constant pressure upon the liberties of the citizen."

The reader is reminded that if the above statement is true of a country like England where every member of the legislature enters it through election, it was truer still of India in 1919 when the majority in the Imperial Legislative Council which passed the Rowlatt Act consisted of *ex-officio* and nominated aliens who could not possibly have much contact with Indians and who, by reason of the position they held, found no difficulty and felt little hesitation in deliberately ignoring public opinion in our motherland

Colour is lent to this view by the fact that Mr. P. J. Fagan, a Punjab I.C.S., and a member of the Council, in the course of his speech supporting the Rowlatt Bill asked non-official elected members who were opposing it according to strictly constitutional methods the very pertinent question as to what was to be gained by further discussion for Government had definitely made up its mind about passing it.

It was probably this fact which induced a non-official European to say that in this matter, the India Government " was anxious only to go through the farce of legal formality."

How greatly the passing of the Rowlatt Act was resented is proved when we remember that by way of protest against the way in which it had been passed against the unanimous opposition of every elected non-official Indian member, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs. M. A. Jinnah, Mazarul Huque, B. N. Sarma and B. D. Sukul resigned their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council.

SOLSTICES AND EQUINOXES IN THE VEDAS

MAHAMAHOPADHYAY DR. R. SHAMASASTRY

I

THERE can be no doubt that the Vedic and Purāṇic myths are rich mines of information for the formation of an accurate cultural history of India. The story of Gauri and Gaṇapati is an instance in point. The salient points in the myths about these two deities are :— Gauri, once the daughter of Daksha and consort of Rudra, formed a child from the sweat of her body and kept him as the door-keeper of her own chamber. Seeing the entrance blocked, Rudra knocked out the head of Gaṇapati and went in. On Gauri's remonstrance, Rudra tagged an elephant's head to Gaṇapati's headless body and revived him. As a compensation for the hideous and comic shape given to Gaṇapati, Rudra ordained that Gauri and Gaṇapati should be worshipped on the third and fourth dates of the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) year after year. When Daksha abused Rudra and contemptuously treated Gauri on the occasion of a sacrifice undertaken by him, Gauri fell and burnt herself to death in the sacrificial fire. She was, however, reborn as the daughter of the Himalayas and married to Rudra again. Daksha who was beheaded by Rudra was given a goat's head and revived.

Regarding the function of Gauri, R. V. I., 164, 40, says Gauri measures waters by becoming in length one *Pada* (two feet), two *Padas*, four *Padas*, eight *Padas*. This means that according to the length of the gnoman or a staff employed to ascertain the length of the shadow cast by it in the rainy season and according to the latitude of the locality, the shadow might be one to eight Padas in length. According to the Sūrya-pragnapti and Kālalokaprakāśa of the Jainas and also according to the Panchasiddhāntika of Varāhamihira, the shadow cast by a gnoman on the day of summer solstice gradually increases and becomes double on the day of winter solstice and again decreases from that day backwards and attains its original length on the day of summer solstice. Gauri's another name is Kāli, which means black as shadow. Gauri seems therefore to be euphemistic. R. V. IV. 40, 5, says " that the

sun on the horizon (*Suchi*) is called Hamsa, swan; *Vasu* in the atmosphere; *Hatar* on the altar; *Atithi* in his own house (*Duroṇa*) when in water (*Nṛ—Nara*), with the wooing Aświns (*Vara*), in Ṛta, and on the sky (*Vyoma*), he is called in order *Abja* (Lotus-flower), Cow born of the cow (*Goja*), born of the Ṛta (*Ṛta-ja*), and born of the mountain (*Adrija*); this is what is called Ṛta." From this it follows that the sun on the sky (*Vyoma*) is called *Adri-ja*, or Pārvati, daughter of the mountain, chiefly the Himalayas. *Vyoma* is synonymous with *Dyāva* in the compound word *Dyāvaprithivī*, which is used in the Vedas in the sense of winter and summer solstices. As already pointed out, solstices were determined by observing the shadow cast by a gnoman. A-V. XIII. 1, 3, says that *Aja Ekapāt*, the deity of the asterism, *Pūrvabhādrapada*, had his repose at one end of the cord stretched from *Dyāva*, the sky, to *Prithivi*, the earth. From this it follows that the asterism, *Pūrvabhādrapada*, was the place of *Uttarāyaṇa*, winter solstice, and the asterism, *Uttaraphalguni*, was the seat of *Dakshiṇāyana*, summer-solstice. Accordingly the fall of Gauri into the sacrificial fire and the loss of Gaṇapati's head imply the disappearance of the solstices from their respective places and the failure of the gnoman to show the usual shadows on the beginning and middle days of the year.

The Vedic Hindus as well as the Jainas began their year with the summer solstice, as clearly and repeatedly stated in the Sūryapragnapti. The blowing off of Vishnu's head by the springing of his bow, on one end of which he rested his chin, the other end being on the earth, when Indra, disguised as a number of white ants, gnawed at the string of the bow, as narrated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, implies the same disappearance of winter-solstice. The blowing off of the heads of Rudra and of Yagnya, sacrifice, by the springing of Rudra's bow, as stated in the Taitt. *Āraṇyaka*, implies the same shifting of solstices from their respective loci. The *Āraṇyaka* (1, 4) says, "that one end of the bow rested on the sky (*Vyoma*) and the other end on the earth (*Prithivi*). When its string was cut off by Indra, disguised in the form of white ants, the bow sprang and cut off the heads of Rudra and sacrifice. The stringless bow had the appearance of a rainbow stretched upwards from the top of an ant-hill. Hence it is called Indra's bow. The performance of the *Pravargya* rite is for the purpose of replacing these heads."

The rebirth of Gauri as the daughter of the Himalayas, and Gaṇapati's appearance with an elephant's head, as stated in the myths, signify the restoration of their heads to Gaṇapati, Vishnu, Rudra, and Makha or sacrifice. Vishnu as the sun is the god of winter solstice,

Rudra as the god of the rains is the deity of summer-solstice, and Makha means the sacrifices performed on the days of winter and summer solstices. The word Himālaya means the Himalaya mountains as well as the zodiacal sign Makara when *hima* or snow covers the earth. Accordingly Gauri's rebirth as the daughter of the Himalayas means the appearance of the sun in Capricorn or Makara in winter-solstice. Among the sacrificial animals enumerated in the Horse-sacrifice in the 7th Kāṇda of the Black Yajurveda, the elephant dedicated to the Himalayas is tied to the 11th-sacrificial post and a rat representing enemies of the sacrificer is tied to the 12th post. When the Himalayas became the father of Gauri, the elephant, the representative animal of the Himalayas, supplied its head to replace the head of Gaṇapati. What is implied from all this is that the winter solstice reappeared in the sign of Capricorn in the month of Māgha. It is in the month of Makara or Capricorn that a tug of war occurred between a crocodile and an elephant, as narrated in the story of Gajendramoksha.

The elephant prayed and appealed to Vishnu, the sun, for help. Vishnu arrived there mounted on his Suparṇa bird and slaying the crocodile set the elephant free. The car-festival celebrated in all the Vishnu temples on the seventh day of the white half of the month of Māgha in Makara by taking the idol of Vishnu to a river or a lake near to the temple and enacting the liberation of the elephant from the clutches of the crocodile preserves the memory of the occurrence of winter solstice in Capricorn at the time of the Vedangajyautisha about B.C. 900 or 1000. Bhīshma's waiting for the arrival of the 7th day of the month of Māgha (February, now) before letting his breath leave his body in the battlefield of the Mahābhārata war implies the reappearance of winter solstice in the asterism of Dhanishṭha once. The celebration of the Gauri and Gaṇapati festivals on the third and fourth of the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) preserves the memory of the occurrence of the summer solstice in the asterism of Uttaraphalguni. Thus Gauri and Gaṇapati, the detities of snow and water, are brought in from within water for worship in the month of Bhādrapada and drowned in water after worship for a few days. Thanks for the rigid conservatism of the Hindus in preserving the memory of the occurrence of the solstices once in the asterisms of Bhādrapada and Uttaraphalguni and for a second time in the asterisms of *Dhanishṭha* and *Aśleṣha*, as observed and recorded in the Vedas and the Vedāngajyautisha.

The framers of Hindu Calendar preserve even now the memory of the occurrence of the winter-solstice in Dhanishṭha in Makara, Capri-

corn, and of summer-solstice in Ardhāslesha in Karkaṭa, Cancer, by recording the days of the sun's arrival on those asterisms, as Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana Samkramaṇas for observation of religious rites. The days on which the winter and summer solstices now occur are called Ayana days and are recorded as such about twenty-two days earlier in the Calendars. No religious rites are performed on these Ayana days. Thus while observance of Samkramaṇas now recalls the memory of the occurrence of the solstices in the months of Māgha and Srāvana, as stated in the Jyautisha, the Pravargya ceremony performed at the beginning of each and every Vedic sacrifice to replace the lost heads of Vishnu and Rudra in a symbolical way preserves the memory of the bygone occurrence of the solstices in the months of Bhādrapada and Phālguṇa. This seems to be the real significance of the story of Gauri and Gaṇapati.

If this interpretation proves acceptable to scholars, we can determine the chronology of the Vedas as approximately as possible. The name of *Aja Ekapat* is given to the last quarter of the asterism of Pūrvabhadrapada, where winter solstice is stated to have occurred, as shown above. Now the winter solstice occurs in the second half of the asterism of Mūla. It is clear, therefore, that winter solstice receded by about six asterisms owing to precession of solstitial colure. The rate of precession is nearly a degree in 72 years, or one asterism in 960 years. Accordingly precession of the colure through six asterisms must have occurred in the course of 5,760 years. This exceeds the Kali era years now by 718 years. This excess is evidently due to the error unavoidably committed in observing with the naked eye and determining the exact positions of solstitial points. The exact position is nearly equal to nine-tenths of the total and the error to one-tenth of the total space observed. In his Indian Ephemeris, Swami Kannu Pillae estimates such errors at two-thirteenths of the total space observed.

Gaṇapati's head represents the winter and his belly with the Aslesha-serpent tied round it symbolizes the summer solstice. The winter solstice is the beginning of sacrificial and marriage festivals and the summer solstice is the harbinger of agriculture and education (*Upākarma*). Hence Gaṇapati is worshipped at the commencement of all undertakings. As already pointed out, the rat is the symbol of enemies. As Gaṇapati is given a rat to ride over, he is believed to drive away the enemies of the worshipper.

Gaṇapati is Vishnu, the sun; he is *Lambodara*, pot-bellied, and *Vikaṭa*, hideous and comic. Such epithets are seriously given to

him. The reason is not far to seek, for the zodiacal signs which he represents, as shown above, determined his shape.

II

While Gaṇapati is the deity of solstices, as pointed out above, Skanda, his brother, is the regent of equinoxes and also of solstices. He is called variously. He is Kārtikeya, the son of the Krittika asterisms, Shāṇmātura, son of six mothers, Shaṇmukha, six-headed, Sadasaspati, lord of the sacrificial hall, Adbhuta, prodigy, Guha, secret, and so on. Various versions of his birth-story are found in the Brāhmanas, Epics, Purāṇas, and Kāvyas. The late Narayan Aiyangar, a distinguished Revenue Officer of Mysore State, made a comparative study of these stories along with other Vedic and Purāṇic myths and published them in two volumes in 1901. I am highly indebted to these "Essays on Indo-Aryan Mythology" for my information and references. My conclusions are all based upon the facts mostly gathered from his invaluable Essays.

While the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa says (Muir's San. Texts, Vol. IV, p. 341) that Skanda was begotten by Agni, Vayu, the Sun, and the Moon on Ushas, the Dawn, the Śatapatha Brāhmana makes the year and the seasons his fathers and Ushas his mother (1, 7, 3, 8). The following is a brief account of the Mahābhārata version (*Araṇya* 222-231).

Indra was in search of a suitable husband for Devasena, a celestial damsel. While the seven sages, Vasishṭha and others, were performing a sacrifice, the sacrificial fire called Agni Adbhuta fell in love with the wives of the seven sages, and being unable to entice them, he retired to a forest. This is referred to in R. V. X. 51. Therein Yama is stated to have found out Agni hidden in a forest and to have requested him to come out from his hiding place and make Devayānas. Coming to know of her husband's love to the wives of the sages, Svāhā, Agni's wife, disguised herself as the wife of Āngirasa, one of the seven sages, went to Agni, and told him that the wives of the sages knew his state of mind, and that they sent her in advance and would come one after another to meet him. So saying she succeeded in winning Agni's love. Taking the forms of the wives of the five other sages successively, she met Agni in secret, and obtained six seeds. She could not take the form of Arundhatī, the wife of Vasiṣṭha, the seventh sage, for she had

the reputation of being above temptation, as stated in a Vedic verse quoted by Āpastamba in his Ekāgnikāṇḍa among the *mantras* on Marriage. In that verse it is stated that the six Kṛttikas accepted the first place given to Arundhatī, the seventh Krittika, by the seven sages. Going to Mount Śveta, Svāhā put those six seeds in a golden pot in a forest of Śara reeds (Sara-vaṇa).

On the way to Mount Śveta and back she took the form of Garuḍi or Vinatā-bird to screen the six Krittikas against suspicion. In six days Skanda camē out from those seeds with six heads and twelve arms. One of the heads was like that of a goat. He grew up. He had a peacock for his flag. By shooting an arrow he made a hole through mount Krauncha, through which swans and eagles go to mount Meru. Soon a rumour spread out that Skanda was Agni's son born of the six wives of the six sages and of Vinatā-bird. No one suspected Svāhā. The sages refused to take their wives back, though Svāhā told them that it sages refused to take their wives back, though Svāha told them that it was her own doing and that they were innocent. Viśvāmitra, one of the sages, believed her tale and made Skanda pass through all the rites enjoined for a Brāhman boy. Indra feared him and dealt a blow to him with his *Vajra* weapon, with the result that Skanda's right side was cut off and that the cut portion became a second being called Visākha (the asterism of Visākha) like him. Besides Visākha there camè out from the blow a number of boys and girls. The boys formed a troop of Skanda or Kumāra and followed Visākha. They are the causes of infantile diseases. The girls became the seven Mātris and regarded Kumāra as their own son. They are the sources of various diseases on earth. Skanda is a god of thieves. Indra trembled. But Kumāra excused him and promised him safety and security. Gods were all pleased with him. Indra appointed him as a leader of the troops of gods and gave Devasena in marriage to him. Rudra and Umā met him and gave him a golden necklace, calling him their own son. For Rudra is Agni and Umā is Svāhā.

The six divorced wives (the six Krittikas) went to Skanda and told him of their rejection by their husbands. They requested him to admit them as his mothers and send them to heaven. Then Indra said :—

Abhijit spardhamānā tu rohiṇyā kanīyasī svasā.
Ichchhantī jyeshṭhatāṃ devī tapastaptuṃ vanaṃ gatā.
Tatra mūḍho'smi bhadraṃ te nakshatraṃ gaganāchchyutam.
Kālaṃ tvimaṃ paraṃ skanda brahmaṇā saha chintaye.

Dhānishṭhādistathā kālo brahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ.
Rohiṇī hyabhavat pūrvam evaṃ saṅkhyā samā ' bhavat.
Evam ukte tu śakreṇa tridivaṃ kṛttikā gatāḥ.
Nakshatraṃ saptaśīrshābham bhāti yad vahni-daivatam.
Vinatā chābravīt skandam mama tvam piṇḍadaḥ sutaḥ.
Ichchhāmi nityamevāhaṃ tvayā putra sahāsitum.

Skanda uvācha :—

Evamastu namaste'stu putrasnehāt prasādhi mām.
Snushayā pūjyamānā vai devī vatsyasi nityadā

Abhijit, the youngest sister, became jealous of Rohini (on account of her superiority); and went to a forest to perform penance to acquire superiority. I am bewildered at this. Mayest thou be blest. The asterism (*Bhadra*) fell down from the sky (*Gagana-Vyoma-Uttarāyaṇa*). I shall however consider with Brahma this matter concerning time. Just then time was made by Brahma to begin with the asterism of Dhanishṭha. The asterism of Rohini was (a point of division) before; thus the number (of divisions) was alike or even. When Indra said thus, the asterism of Krittikas which looks *like seven-headed* and which has Agni as its regent went to heaven. Vinatā also requested him to be her son fit to offer funeral Rice-balls to her after her death, and that she wanted to remain with him long. Skanda accepted it and said that she might remain with him respected by her daughter-in-law (*Devasenā*).

The most important points in this story deserving our attention are :—

(1) The birth of Kumāra or Skanda as an illegitimate son of Agni-Rudra, and of the six Krittikas, the wives of six sages, and of Vinatā.

(2) The divorce of the six wives from the six sages, their husbands, and their departure to heaven leaving their husbands.

(3) The admission of Kumāra as a legitimate son among the gods and his appointment as the leader of Deva-sena, the troops of gods.

(4) Brahma's order making the asterism of Dhanishṭha the initial point (of Uttarāyaṇa at that time)

(5) The position of the asterism Rohini as one of the initial points in the previous age.

(6) Kumāra's consent to enable the Krittikas and Vinatā to go to heaven and offer them funeral Rice-balls.

(7) The paths through which Kumāra has to lead the troops of gods.

Among these points the last is the most important. Regarding this the Rigveda (X. 88, 15) says :—

" I have heard of two paths : the path of the Fathers. and the path of the Gods and Mortals; with these two paths the whole moving world turns between the two points called Father (*Uttarāyaṇa*) and Mother (*Dakshiṇāyana*)."

As already pointed out, Dyāvāpṛthivī sky and earth, are Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana and are called Father and Mother. The R. V. verse quoted above means that the upper half of the celestial sphere from Uttarāyaṇa to Dakshiṇāyana contains two paths called the path of the Fathers and the path of the Gods. Likewise the lower half. Accordingly the upper half from winter to summer solstice contains the initial points of three paths, namely, the path of Uttarāyaṇa and the path of the Fathers side by side and the path of the gods at the 7th asterism from the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa. Similarly the lower half of the sphere also contains three paths, the path of Dakshiṇāyana from summer solstice to winter solstice and the path of the Fathers parallel to it up to the seventh asterism from the point of Dakshiṇāyana, and the path of the Gods beginning at the middle of the Dakshiṇāyana path. The Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā says (IV. 2, 1) that the celestial sphere (Nabhāmsi) has four divisions, the division of gods, that of the Fathers, that of the mortals, and that of the Asuras.

Thus the Samhita calls the first half of the Uttarāyaṇa-path, the path of the Asuras and the second half of the Dakshiṇāyana-path, the path of mortals. The six heads or faces of Skanda seem to face the six points of the celestial sphere. Taking the 27 asterisms as measuring stones of the circumference of his six faces or heads, we can say that his first head points to the Uttarāyaṇa, his second head lies at the seventh asterism from the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa, his third head at the Dakshiṇāyana; his fourth head points to the path of the Fathers at the Dakshiṇāyana again, his fifth head is at the 7th asterism from the Dakshiṇāyana point, and his sixth head at the Uttarāyaṇa at last. Thus each division is seven-headed, terminating at the seventh asterism from the asterism of the preceding division. Rohini once marked one of these divisions, as stated in the verses quoted above. It can possibly be no other division than the Devayāna point at the 7th asterism from winter solstice.

Accordingly the six other asterisms preceding Rohini must necessarily be P. Bhādrapada, U. Bhādrapada, Revati, Asvini, Bharaṇi, and

Krittika. Thus this situation of Uttarāyaṇa at P. Bhadrapada whose deity is *Aja Ekapāt* was at the time of Gaṇapati's first birth. Then came the age of the Krittikas having its initial point at the asterism of Śatabhishag. It must be noted that the first division here terminates with three-quarters of the Krittika asterism, leaving the 4th quarter untouched; it is likely that the last quarter was assigned to the seventh star of the Krittika group; and the remaining three-quarters to the six stars of the Krittikas, who are said to have brought forth their illegitimate son Skanda and who are said to have been abandoned by their husbands. This means that the equinoctial colure receded from them and came to the asterism of Bharaṇi, the seventh from Dhanishṭha, the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa, as stated in the verses; the six Krittikas went to heaven resigning their seven-headed position. Though Skanda was a bastard and leader of robbers and thieves and grew up in secret and obtained the name of Guha, he was admitted into caste and appointed leader of gods and path-maker. His duplicate became the regent of Visākha asterism. These two asterisms, Krittikas and Visākha, being the seventh from the asterisms of Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana respectively, must necessarily have been the asterisms of vernal and autumnal equinoxes respectively. His troops of boys and girls (Marikas) are said to bring on Small-pox, Chicken-pox, Fever, and other epidemic diseases to children during vernal and autumnal equinoxes—a fact in the experience of all in India. When Rohini was the asterism of Devayāna or vernal equinox, Anūrādha was the asterism of autumnal equinox, as implied in the Vedic verse, " May we live a hundred autumns by worshipping the goddess Anūrādha." (*Anūrādhaṃ havishā vardhayantaḥ vayaṃ jīvema śaradaḥ śatam*).

The location of the winter solstice at the beginning of Dhanishṭha in the verse points to period later than that of the Vedāngajyautisha, when it was at the middle of Dhanishṭha.

Gnoman's shadow to determine months and seasons and recitation of a number of Vedic verses to find out the length of days and nights enabled the ancients to cognize the arrival of solstices and equinoxes, as detailed in " the Drapsa."

As the Vedic bards are unaware of the law of precession, they regarded it as the birth of a new god in secret and the severance of the heads of solstitial gods such as Gaṇapati, Vishnu, Rudra, and personified sacrifices on those occasions.

A NOTE ON MODERN HINDI POETRY

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HINDI poetry was reborn about the beginning of the new century, when it rejected the dialect of Braja as the only medium of its expression. It had a great and distinguished past with devotional, philosophical, heroic and love-poetry to its credit and great names like *Tulsi, Sur, Kabir, Mira, Vidyapati, Deva, Bihari, Matiram* and *Keshava* in its pantheon. It had faithfully reflected the social and cultural urge of our people for centuries and had been a great source of power and inspiration. But during the post-Moghal period it had entered a decadent phase and settled down to a meaningless repetition of stereotyped patterns—something like the patterns of classical Indian music, only less cold and disciplined. It catered for the enjoyment of certain narrow, aristocratic coteries and entered into literary and amorous subtleties which could be of value to the leisured few alone. It could only move along certain well-worn grooves and express its soul in treatises on prosody, figures and tropes, the seasons, dalliance with love or the eyes and locks of the beloved. A line of the type :— " She steps so languorously, because her path is blocked by the gaze of many ! " [1] would send the audience of that period into ecstasies. Nothing greater or finer could be imagined by them.

With the rejection of this diction, the poetic convention of the past too was a lost legacy. A new order of society was coming into being with western education and contact with a new line of thought and philosophy. The old feudal society was gradually crumbling up and a new class rising to take its place. The new Hindi poetry expresses the dreams, fancies and futilities of this class. In this context it would be easier to understand the main trends of recent Hindi poetry : (1) *Chhayavada*, that is mysticism or romanticism, or desire for escape; (2) *Nirashavada*, that is pessimism or a sense of defeat and futility; (3) *Halavada* or symbolism of wine to express discontent and

[1] "वह मंद चले किन मेरी भटू, पग लाखन की अंखियां अटकीं !"

revolt; (4) *Pragativada*, progressivism or urge for a new order of society.

With the arrival of the British in India, the old aristocracy of the land was gradually being liquidated and the scions of the nobility turning with avidity to fill second-rate positions in the public services, of which unluckily there were only a limited few available. Macaulay's policy of turning educational institutions into manufactories for the production of clerks was working only too successfully. A new class was arising in Indian society fed on the philosophy of Bentham, Mill and Rousseau with low-paid clerical jobs to satisfy the urge of their souls. Such was the stuff on which our poets were made.

The first considerable poet of the new tradition was Maithili Sharan Gupta who disproves the saying that poets are born, not made. After incessant labour and perspiration he has attained an unassailable position in Hindi poetry. But for his pioneer work in fashioning and perfecting a new language for poetic expression he might have been classed as a poetaster. He has written verses full of sincerity and feeling, simple and chaste in design, but there is a great deal of mediocre stuff in his repertoire. From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a single step.

His *Bharat-Bharati* was at one time extremely popular, expressing as it did the feelings and thoughts of the Indian middle classes in rather fluent and felicitous verses. Of late, however, he has found solace in verse of an increasingly devotional and religious quality. Like Gandhiji, he has begun to consider the word *Rama* as the key that unlocks all doors :

"The name of *Rama* alone is truth."

There are fine passages in his work like oases in the desert :

"The sun swims into the blue pool of the sky, swallowing the pearly stars like a swan." [2]

For these the weary traveller is truly grateful.

With Jaya Shanker 'Prasad' modern Hindi poetry has come of age. He has given to Hindi poetry a new tone and richness; his technique and craftsmanship are of the maturest. He is at the begin-

[2] "सखि नील-नभस्सर में उतरा,
यह हंस अहा तरता-तरता।
अब तारक-मौक्तिक शेष नहीं।
निकला जिनको चरता-चरता!"

ning of the new tradition which culminates in the work of Mahadevi Varma. From the grim realities of life he seeks escape in dreams of the past, an imaginary world of romance and beauty and luxury of grief, vague and nebulous—a mere pining for what is not. The so-called mysticism of his poetry is merely an idealization of the unknown :

" You were the truth, O ever-beautiful, in my universe of illusion !

You were ever my companion on the path of my good." [3]

" Your face lovely as the moon was veiled and there was a light concealed in your lip;

You entered like Wonder itself in the twilit dusk of my life ! " [4]

His note of escape is clear and insistent in certain other lines :

" Take me, O boatman, with slow strokes to that world
of forgetting,
Where the waves of the sea whisper in solitude to the ears
of the sky
A simple love-story, ignoring this noisy earth." [5]

' Prasad ' was also responsible for raising sorrow and self-pity to the position of a creed in Hindi poetry. Most poets after him, Mahadevi, Bachchan and Naraindra in particular, luxuriate in sorrow and make one strongly conscious of a streak of morbidity in their thought. In his poem *Ansu* (Tears) ' Prasad ' worships pain as an end in itself :—

" My love began to consume like a lamp, because my heart was tender as butter;

Now I can only paint the darkness with the remains of a line of smoke." [6]

[3] "तुम सत्य रहे चिर-सुन्दर, मेरे इस मिथ्या जग के !
थे कभी न क्या तुम साथी कल्याण-कलित मम-मग के !"

[4] "शशि-मुख पर घूंघट डाले, अञ्चल में दीप छिपाये,
जीवन की गोधूली में कौतूहल से तुम आये !"

[5] ले चल मुझे भुलावा देकर, मेरे नाविक ! धीरे-धीरे ।
जिस निर्जन में सागर-लहरी, अम्बर के कानों में गहरी
निश्छल प्रेम-कथा कहती हो, तज कोलाहल की अवनी रे ।"

[6] "जल उठा स्नेह दीपक-सा, नवनीत हृदय था मेरा ;
अब शेष धूम-रेखा से चित्रित कर रहा अंधेरा ।"

It is easy enough to understand the frustrations of the poet in our society; his vision of beauty and grim disillusionment, his defeats and disappointments. Small wonder then that he raises sorrow to the dignity of a well-worn philosophy going back to the Buddha for its ancient origin. ' Prasad ' himself in personal life was a tobacconist whose family had fallen on evil days. Outside the route from his house to his shop at *Dashaswamedh* he knew little of life. During leisure from business he fashioned those exquisite love-lyrics and songs to nature which remain unsurpassed for sheer beauty of form and execution.

' Prasad's *Kamayini* is one of the grand peaks of Hindi poetry. It is cast in the form of an epic dealing with *Pralaya*, the great flood and the rebirth of civilization after it. But actually it is a series of beautiful lyrics strung together in the form of a story. We may regard *Kamayini* as the high water-mark of *Chhayavadi* poetry in its obsession with beauty in abstraction and denial of society.

There is a good deal of nature-description in ' Prasad ' as in all poets of the mystic set. They have not known much of nature except its face in the cities, barring one or two like Pant whose home is among the Himalayas; but they speak of the sky, the stars, darkness, dawn and sunset, spring and flowers with a certain sense of mystification. They hail the unknown beloved concealed in the twilight or dusk and this escape from the ugly spectre of reality is their mysticism :

" You came in the languorous dark with your immortal lyre
To infuse new life and being into me." [7]

' *Nirala* ' is one of the dominant personalities in modern Hindi poetry. His big, hulking body, long hair and intoxicated eyes forcibly hold the attention. He has experimented with verse-forms and tried to wring new music and rhythm from words and their combinations, rugged and Caliban-like occasionally, but strong and virile at best; his invocation to the poetic muse, for example :

[7] "तन्द्रिल निशीथ में ले आये
गायक तुम अपनी अमर वीन !
प्राणों में भरने स्वर नवीन !"

"Smash this prison of stone
And emerge again
Fresh and sweet as the waters of Ganga." [8]

To '*Nirala*' also belongs the credit of having moved poetry nearer to the realities of life and thus turning it into a sharp and keen weapon of society, when its function was being supposed to be a sort of dope and nothing else. His portrait of a beggar is hard and bitter like a painting by Van Gogh, with no trace of vagueness or mysticism in it :

"He comes with a broken heart along the road;
He is lank and haggard, propped with the help of a stick,
Spreading his bag for a few grains to restrain his famished soul.
He comes along the road broken and famished." [9]

Sumitranandan Pant is the central figure in Hindi poetry to-day. He has been the leader first of the mystic school and now of progressivism. His lean figure, long hair and Shelleyan collars gave rise to a legend that all Hindi poets were effeminate or tubercular. Pant has the most pleasing manners and personality of any Hindi poet writing to-day. His self-possession and reposeful air are a marked contrast to the hustle and hurly-burly of our younger generation of poets. In the interests of hygiene it is good that Pant has cropped his hair short now, because the teeming young poets will not consider this affectation an essential feature of their rig-out any more. :

[8] "तोड़ो, तोड़ो, तोड़ो कारा
पत्थर की, निकलो फिर,
गंगा-जल-धारा !"

[9] "वह आता—
दो टूक कलेजे के करता पछताता पथ पर आता।
पेट पीठ दोनों मिल कर हैं एक,
चल रहा लकुटिया टेक,
मुट्ठी भर दाने को—भूख मिटाने को
मुंह फटी पुरानी झोली का फैलाता—
दो टूक कलेजे के करता पछताता पथ पर आता।"

In *Pallava* (Leaf) his poetry was full of wonder at the beauty and mystery of nature; his language, though loaded with Sanskrit diction, was most beautifully chiselled and musical. Of ' Leaves ' he says :

" They have the silver bloom of the day,
The gold of the dawn,
The dewy tearful beauty of the night,
The sad music of the evening,
The tender shyness of a maid,
The fire of adolescent youth." [10]

His love and glorification of nature find further expression in *Yugant* (The End of an Age), where he celebrates the beauty of the hills and dales around Almora. This book was also a farewell to his mystic muse, because in his next volume *Yugavani* (The Voice of the Age), he turned with boldness and courage to handle the problems of his age and society. From nature he was turning to man and his poetry gains in vigour and strength what it loses in surface-gloss and veneer. *Yugavani* contains philosophic poetry; his last work *Gramya* is a study of village-life with a new vision and insight.

The poets of the old order were still persisting in their mannered writing, producing soft and languishing melodies, singing of darkness, lamps, the locks of the beloved, wallowing in tears, being torn to shreds by their own grief and self-pity :

" O my little lamp, burn merrily!
For ever and ever
Light the path of my beloved! " [11]

[10] "दिवस का इनमें रजत प्रसार
उषा का स्वर्ण सुहाग
निशा का तुहिन अश्रु-शृंगार
सांझ का निःस्वन राग ;
नवोढ़ा की लज्जा सुकुमार,
तरुणतम-सुन्दरता की आग !"

[11] "मधुर-मधुर मेरे दीपक जल !
युग-युग प्रतिदिन प्रतिक्षण प्रतिपल
प्रियतम का पथ आलोकित कर !"

or, " Ever on the path of the mirage
Joy comes with the steps of the thirsty,
Shutting the doors of the heart." [12]

The names of Mahadevi and Ram Kumar Varma must be mentioned among the followers of this great and dying tradition; for another race hath been and other songs are sung.

Mahadevi Varma's lyrics have a jewel-like quality. In their chiselled perfection they will not be easily surpassed. She is *par excellence* the poet of sorrow and her muse is almost always tearful. Her language too is the most musical yet handled by a modern Hindi poet. " She found Hindi brick and left it marble! " old Dr. Johnson might have said of her. Her sumptuous volumes expensively rigged out, her aristocratic aloofness, her pre-occupation with one theme, her repetitions and her silences give to her art a certain savour of decadence. But for those who regard *rasa* or joy as the only function of art, her poetry would be an unending source of delight :

" These tears, full of pain and joy,
Frothy with dream-bubbles,
Have been flowing for ages and ages." [13]

In Ram Kumar Varma's poetry, mysticism found its most gentle and tender expression. His lyrics are luminous and frail like the wings of a butterfly; they must not be handled roughly :

" This ray of moonlight has descended on the earth;
How daring of her to bring her ethereal beauty to the earth. . . . " [14]

12 "मृग मरीचिका के चिर पथ पर,
सुख आता प्यासों के पग धर,
रुद्ध हृदय के पट लेता कर।"

13 "प्रिय इन नयनों का अश्रु-नीर!
दुख से आविल सुख से पंकिल;
बुद्बुद् से स्वप्नों से फेनिल;
बहता है युग युग से अधीर!"

14 यह चन्द्रकिरण भू पर आई।
साहस तो देखो, नभ-वासिनि
पृथ्वी पर यह नव-छवि लाई।"

Perhaps every age seems to itself to be the most critical in history, but it may not be denied that we are living through stormy times, when man's destiny is being decisively shaped. The forces of reaction and progress have come sharply into conflict and the issue, whether man shall be exploited by man, hangs in the balance. With one supreme effort we may sway the balance. Shall the poet and the thinker take his share in this mortal combat, or remain aloof, nursing a threadbare illusion that he is above the strife of to-day and to-morrow? Indian intellectuals too are vitally concerned in this dread conflict, because they too are suppressed and frustrated.

Pant decided to strike a blow for freedom and not go down under like his brother the German intellectual, without an effort to save himself. In *Yugavani*, he clarifies the issues and defines his conception of a new culture. Is poetry to pander merely to the jaded lusts of a leisured class or help in building up a new earth and heaven? He has no doubt in his mind that the highest conception of culture should preclude exploitation of man by man. He says that history is made, not by kingly heroes or generals, but by the indomitable will of the people, and this in the end would triumph. We might take his poem on the " Village-god " as an example of his clarion call to break away from the past and enter upon a new heritage :

" O Rama, O Village-god, hold your heart awhile,
The people prepare for the struggle of freedom;
They make ready for the revolution with their loins girded;
You better swallow the opiate of custom and take your ease
for good! " [15]

Among a host of poets linking up with this revolutionary tendency, we may mention Bhagwati Charan Varma, ' Navina,' ' Dinkar,' Naraindra and ' Anchal.' Of these Bhagwati Charan is the most explosive and dynamic. ' Navina ' is too much engrossed in politics and

[15] "राम राम,
हे ग्राम देव, लो हृदय थाम,
अब जन स्वातंत्र्य युद्ध की जग में धूमधाम।
उद्यत जनगण युग क्रान्ति के लिए बांध लाम।
तुम रूढ़ि रीति की खा अफ़ीम, लो चिर विराम!"

only fitful and petulent in his writing. ' Dinkar ' is not yet in his meridian; in his case perhaps the best is yet to be. Naraindra has been consuming his light in love-lyrics, but can occasionally soar like the eagle.

Bhagwati Charan Varma has been a Bohemian in the past ignoring custom and convention and even to-day his poetry is full of revolt and challenge. Latterly however he has come under the influence of Gandhism, so that some of his intellectual quality has been tarnished. His latest collection of poems *Manava* includes many fine and powerful things of which we may mention " The Buffalo-cart," " Tram," " The Poet," " On His Thirty-fifth Birth-day " and " Manava " itself. " The Poet " is a satire on a mystic who talks of beautiful things, abiding in a universe of dreams, and gets a beggar beaten, when he enters that world. Bhagwati Charan Varma has to-day become extremely conscious of social misery and wrong. His role in poetry to-day is extremely progressive.

' Bachchan ' has ploughed a lonely furrow in the past. His name is associated with *Halavad* or poetry of wine, but his is the only noteworthy name in this school. These poets sought the symbolism of wine to drown their discontent. This titillated Hindi readers who experienced a sort of vicarious enjoyment. ' Bachchan ' was denounced by the Puritans, but he managed to survive. He was misunderstood because his manner was exaggerated and occasionally jarred. Among the services of ' Bachchan ' to Hindi poetry, I include his fine translation of Omar Khayyam. He was the only one of our translators attuned like Fitzgerald to his subject. Latterly ' Bachchan ' has turned to traditional verse with his beautiful elegy *Nisha-Nimantran* (Night-Thoughts). With many exquisite things in this volume and its successor *Aikant-Sangit* (Song of Loneliness) there is a tendency on the part of the poet to decry life and nurse illusions as precious. This can only be described as a streak of morbidity which we hope he will overcome.

There are many other poets in Hindi to-day working with zest and skill. One should mention Gurubhakt Singh, author of *Nurjehan* and Anup Sharma, author of *Siddhartha*, lest it be thought that our poetry is incapable of long, sustained flights: There are many others who in the future may attain great stature, but it would be unwise to speak of that. Passing mention may be made of Rajeshwar Guru who in *Shephali* has successfully experimented with new rhythm and imagery.

In his long poem *Smriti* written after the death of a child, there are many arresting passages :

" The silence was broken by echoes of a dog's hard bark or the
tremour of the watchman's whistle;
We alone were awake in a universe of slumbers." [16]

These are some of the main channels through which the inspiration of our poets has been flowing. This is a very brief review of the tendencies and personalities working in Hindi poetry to-day. Considering the desire of some of our leading intellectuals to make a close approach to life, one has no reason to despair of the future of our society and culture.

[16] चीर कर निस्तब्धता को ध्वनित हो जाता कभी था
श्वान का कटु शब्द प्रहरी की 'ह्विसिल' का सशंकित स्वर ;
जागते थे शयित जग में सिर्फ़ हम कुछ ही अभागे —"

THE CASE OF SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD (1781-83)

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I

RUMBOLD began his career as a writer at Fort St. George. He was present at the operations round Trichinopoly and at the recapture of Calcutta by Clive in 1756. In the latter action he performed a feat of remarkable intrepidity and got promoted as Captain by Clive to whom he acted as *aide-de-camp* at Plassey, wherein he was seriously wounded. He resumed his civil employ in the Madras Presidency, but was subsequently called from Madras by Clive to take his seat in the Council of Bengal, where he remained for a few years and where he also held the post of the chief of Patna. Rumbold returned to England about 1769 and in the next year he entered Parliament as Member for Shoreham. He was highly valued at the India House and was even nominated as the successor of Hastings when the Directors determined upon the recall of the latter in 1773. Consequently, Hastings was jealous of Rumbold and this fact is held to be proved incontestably by the Diary of Philip Francis and was openly manifested in the relations between the Governor-Geneard and Rumbold during the latter's Governorship of Madras.

Rumbold had difficulties with Hyder to placate whom he sent the famous Missionary Swartz. He had also repeatedly and pointedly condemned the policy of the Maratha war. It is now generally admitted that Hyder had just cause of complaint against the Council of Madras for their breach of the treaty of 1769.

The Directors were displeased with Rumbold's transactions relating to the Guntur Sarkar and dismissed him in a belated Despatch of January 11, 1781, though even early in April of the previous year Rumbold had handed over charge of the Governorship to Mr. Whitehill, who was also included in the Directors' subsequent order of dismissal. Rumbold had set sail from Madras on the 6th April, 1780, and on his arrival in England found that the court were greatly incensed against

him. He had seriously offended Hastings and his friends in England; and now charges were brought against him of oppression and corruption during his administration of Madras and Parliament straightway proceeded against him by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. Parliament was anxious for some one to hang. The Maratha war was being mismanaged and the disastrous Mysore War had just broken out. The Directors had committed themselves to the policy of Hastings in these wars and Rumbold was made the scapegoat and held to popular odium and condemned on a charge of maladministration for not having rendered needful help from Madras in the Maratha war and for having precipitated the war with Hyder.

II

The history of the prosecution to which Rumbold was subjected has been well traced in the monograph of his daughter, Elizabeth Anne Rumbold, entitled " A Vindication of the Character and Administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., Governor of Madras in 1778-1780, from the misrepresentation of Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill and other historians of British India, including an Examination of Mr. Hastings ' relations with Sir Thomas Rumbold " (London, 1861).

Rumbold's letter of resignation of the Madras Governorship was dated 15th January, 1780, and was received by the Directors on the 15th of September following. On the 20th of December, a few days before Rumbold was expected to arrive in London, the Directors went through the mockery of dismissing him, ostensibly for measures that he carried out in Madras, with which they had been acquainted for some time and for which self-same measures he had been thanked in the interval.

A clue to the real origin of this prosecution may be found in the view that it was in furtherence of the object that Mr. Fox's Bill had in view. Rumbold's adherents maintained that his proceedings at Madras had alienated many interests. He had been charged with a special mission to examine into the state of the debts of the Nawab of Arcot and had refused to sanction the ratification of a new loan of 40 lakhs that was *in train of negotiation* (4th Report, p. 686).

When the Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought into the Commons against Rumbold by Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland,

it was pointed out that the House were the accusers as well as the Grand Jury that had found the Bill and the Petty Jury that were to try the accused and that all this would constitute an unheard of procedure. Both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General were of the view that the proceedings were unconstitutional,—particularly the clause to compel Rumbold to give an account of his property on oath on pain of death—and the proceedings were an attempt to extort proofs from the accused person against himself. To this Mr. Fox, the Leader of the Opposition, replied that as it was an extraordinary case it would justify a departure from, as it was out of the reach of, any existing law. Burke spoke in strong terms to the same effect and only relied upon the *ex parte* evidence on which the resolutions of the Secret Committee against him were founded. Dundas opposed the claim of Rumbold to be heard by his counsel, because if his right to be heard should be accepted, all the preceding steps that had been taken in the affair, could have been rendered wrong and contrary to the precedent in the South Sea case wherein the petitioners had acknowledged their guilt. These debates took place early in the session of 1782 and after the interval of a year during which there was much delay on the part of the Committee appointed to inquire into the case, the prosecution was opened in February, 1783, and the defence was closed on the last day of the month of May following.

James Mill has given a summary account of the proceedings in Parliament against Rumbold and of the manner in which the prosecution was abandoned. His account gives the reader the impression of his belief in the misdemeanours alleged to have been committed by Rumbold.* At the time when the prosecution began the ministry was unsettled and in December, 1783, immediately after Fox's Coaliton Minstry was formed, a motion was brought forward and carried for adjourning the further considerations of the Bill till the 24th of June next by which date the prosecution finally dropped. Mill's verdict of the whole affair is not entirely clear, nor impartial. " Sir Thomas Rumbold consented to accept impunity without acquittal; his judges refused to proceed in his trial after they had solemnly affirmed

* For a clear survey of the tug-of-war between Hastings and Rumbold, see A. P. Dasgupta—*The Central Authority in British India*, 1774-1784 (Calcutta University Press, 1931), Ch. II. Dr. Dasgupta examines the main counts of Hastings against Rumbold and evaluates the factors that led to the embitterment of the whole situation, with particular reference to the Act of 1773, which created " a half-way house, where, obviously, things could not rest."

the existence of guilt; and a black stain was attached to the character of them both."*

Sir Thomas Rumbold was not heard in his defence before the second reading of the Bill as was asserted by Mr. Mill, because the Counsel for the prosecution and for the defence were not heard until the session of 1783 and upon what is called the second reading of the Bill. The defence followed the second reading and the proceedings were stopped after the evidence was heard. It is asserted that the charge of corruption against Rumbold was absolved in the minds of those members of the House who had listened to the evidence. The Solicitor-General declared that he had always considered the proceedings against Sir Thomas Rumbold as illegal and he was sure he would not have to change his opinion. Rumbold himself knew that Mr. Burke pursued him fiercely as he acted under a genuine impression that he was guilty of the charges offered against him; and when he was appealed to on this matter, Burke responded to it and declared that "he felt extremely for the Honourable Baronet who had shown uncommon fortitude throughout the progress of the business and thrown himself as fairly upon the candour of the House as any man could have done." Rumbold did not plead the difficulties of his position or any extenuating circumstances, but he denied the whole charge which was imputed to him. First, the excessive bail imposed on him was taken off and then he was declared to be free to leave the kingdom. This was on the 3rd of June, 1783. After two or more adjournments of the sub-

* The great historian Marshman, in Vol. I of his *History of British of India* (Longmans, 1867), under the caption, "Proceedings of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras in 1778, 1779 and 1780" writes thus: "Since this volume was sent to press, the author has been favoured with a large and valuable collection of papers, compiled from original correspondence, and from printed records long since forgotten, relative to the administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold, at Madras, and intended to relieve his memory from the oblogy which has rested on it for nearly half a century. A careful perusal of his compilation forces the conclusion that the charges brought against him by Colonel Wilks and Mr. Mill were based on erroneous information, and partial investigation. The statements regarding his proceedings, which are now received as historical facts, and the authenticity of which the author of this volume never suspected, are not, as it would appear, to be relied on, and this chapter of Indian history requires to be written afresh. The interests of historical truth demand this candid admission, and render it necessary to place before the reader the clear explanations which these documents afford, of various points on which his conduct has been impeached."

In his edition of Mill's *History*, Professor H. H. Wilson makes the following observations in modification of Mr. Mill's view: These transactions are minutely detailed in the Second and Third Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, 1781; in the Appendixes to which the official documents are to be found.—M. The author does not appear to have been in possession of the Minutes of the Evidence which was produced in justification of the Bill of Pains and Penalties introduced by Mr. Dundas.—W.

ject the Bill was finally dropped, on the 19th of December by a vote of the House due to the adjournment being for more than six months. In February, 1785, within a little more than a year, after the prosecution against Rumbold was dropped, there arose a discussion in which the action of Dundas was commented upon and Rumbold rising from his place in the Commons, condemned the decision of the Board of Control in bold and energetic terms, while Burke commented upon the change of situation in these words :—" The right honourable gentleman, whose conduct is now in question, (Mr. Dundas) formerly stood forth in this House the prosecutor of the worthy Baronet (Rumbold) who spoke last. He charged him with several grievous acts of malversation in office; with abuses of a public trust of a great and heinous nature. In less than two years we see the situation of parties reversed, and a singular revolution puts the worthy Baronet in a fair way of returning the prosecution in a recriminatory Bill of Pains and Penalties, grounded on a breach of public trust, relative to the very same part of India. If he should undertake a Bill of that kind, he will find no difficulty in conducting it with a degree of skill and vigour fully equal to all that have been exerted against him."

III

Rumbold's prosecution was initiated by Dundas and produced at the time a deep impression on the public mind. Steps were adopted to tie up and impound Sir Thomas's person and also his fortune, in addition to the Bill for inflicting on him pains and penalties. Wraxall tells us that this measure was attended with general approbation; and every party in Parliament was expected to concur in carrying through the Bill. Dundas acted throughout in his capacity not as a member of the Cabinet of Lord North, but as chairman of the Secret Committee of the Commons to inquire into the causes of the War in the Carnatic. After the dissolution of North's Ministry, the party of Rockingham which came into power, professed to call to severe account all who had plundered or injured the country and demanded an inquiry into these and like delinquencies. It was expected therefore that the Bill would easily pass the House of Commons but the fact turned otherwise. As the Session advanced a full attendance could not be procured. But whether from growing indifference or from any other secret factor no progress was made in the business of the Bill. Various rumours became current as to why the prosecution languished. Among these

rumours one requires some notice. It was said that Rumbold enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Rigby, the late Pay-Master of the Forces; and he made a clever use of him. After Lord North's resignation, Burke who had become the Pay-Master in the new Ministry introduced new regulations and compelled his predecessor in office to pay into the Exchequer large balances due from him. Rigby had invested a good portion of these balances in the State mortgages and could not pay; and Rumbold now came to his rescue. It was believed that Rigby agreed that his nephew and heir should be married to a daughter of Rumbold and in return was to help the latter with Dundas, with whom he enjoyed a great friendship and this is considered to be an explanation of the mysterious manner in which the Bill against Rumbold was permitted to languish and die. Thus Wraxall writes of the matter:

"Though no longer Paymaster of the Forces, Rigby still possessed great capacities of being useful; and he was not supposed to lie under the dominion of any fastidious scruples. Above all, his intimate friendship with Mr. Dundas who took the lead in the Parliamentary Prosecution instituted against Rumbold, might enable Rigby to find means and opportunities of diminishing those Prejudices, or softening those Impressions, that operated most injuriously against the accused person. No proof has been, indeed, ever produced, that improper means were used to effect this object; but the public being in possession of certain facts, and observing that the proceedings so vigorously begun in Parliament against Rumbold, seemed unaccountably to languish and expire, instead of being propelled; necessarily inferred, that there must exist some latent cause, which had blunted the edge of the weapon. Rumbold it is certain, finally extricated himself; though whether the ostensible reasons assigned for the fact, formed the only circumstances that conduced to his escape; or whether more efficacious and cogent arguments of any kind were used, must always remain matter of conjecture and assertion, like many other obscure points of biographical history" (*Historical Memoirs of my Own Time*, 1904, pp. 489-90).

IV

It would be well at this stage to have some idea of the charges that were levelled in the Bill against Sir Thomas Rumbold. Some of these related to the fact that he had remitted large sums to England and that he exercised an undue influence over the members of the

Madras Council. A more serious administrative one was that he suspended the work of the Committee of Circuit functioning in the Northern Sarkars and called the Zamindars of these districts to the Presidency town in order to treat with them personally. The alleged complicity of his Private Secretary, Mr. Redhead, in corrupt dealings with Sitaram Raz, the elder brother and Diwan of Viziaram Raz, the Raja of Vizianagram, ended with the confession of the Secretary that he had not Rumbold's confidence and that he was retained in his employment on his urging that he should not discharge abruptly. He was soon afterwards discarded from his office.

Rumbold was also arraigned for extending the lease of the Jaghir District to the Nawab of Arcot from one to three years, and the Directors endeavoured to represent that his fault was aggravated by their having declared their intention of taking the management of the district into their own hands. But they had themselves written to Rumbold that he should try to conciliate the Nawab who had been recently displeased by the ' affair ' of Tanjore. Another charge was on the ground of Rumbold's relations with one, A. Sadlier, who indicated the Government soon after Hyder's entry into the Carnatic with inaction and indifference and non-preparation for any kind of defence. Sadlier was a man of an aggressive disposition and had been taken over from Masulipatam to his Council at Madras. He had rendered himself unpopular with Whitehill, who was Senior Member of the Council and was twice Acting Governor and he and Sadlier were bitter enemies.

These charges have been attempted to be refuted by Rumbold's daughter in her *Vindication*. Therein we read an explanation of the relations of Rumbold with Mr. Sadlier, how Sadlier was at first all gratitude for the protection extended to him by the Governor on his appointment to be the chief of Masulipatam, after his suspension, and how the letter which he wrote to the Council was not an exact copy of what he had sent to Rumbold some time previously. The exaggerated statements of the sums remitted by Rumbold to England and adopted by the Secret Committee were all made by Sadlier, to whom was also largely due the disunion of the Council of Madras, which had so fatal an effect on the Mysore War. Indeed Margaret Rumbold maintains that up to the end of 1779 the responsibility of leaving the Madras Presidency unprepared against a war with Hyder Ali rests not upon Rumbold and his Council but upon Hastings and the Calcutta Council and that the strictures of Colonel Wilks as to the perverse conduct of

the Madras Government are not justified at all. The spirited defence of Rumbold by Judge Hardinge is also worth perusal in this connection.

V

Above all, it is necessary for the reader to have a knowledge of the real genesis of the real atmosphere in which the Bill of penalties against Rumbold was generated; it was an atomsphere in which Francis and Burke played a large part and contributed much to bring about the sequel. The following is a brief account of this preliminary course of events: Even at the time of the nomination of Hastings as Governor-General in the Regulating Act, though the Cabinet and the Company were agreed on his merits and the Sullivan party among the Directors had been supporting him steadily and also his work as the Governor of Bengal had won for him appreciation from a large circle of Directors and Proprietors and also from the Committees of Inquiry, nevertheless North had sacrificed a great field of patronage and Parliamentary support in nominating him. Hastings had no family connections; it was rumoured at the time that even Lord Clive himself would not have refused if the offer had been made to him, though the great man had impressed upon the mind of King George III, his favourable estimate of Hastings, in spite of the latter's connection with the Sullivan party. The claims of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Pigot were canvassed by powerful personages. Lord Pigot, who became content with the Governorship of Madras subsequently, had considerable influence with the ministers by having three votes in the House of Commons; but then he wanted Madras to be the seat of the Central Government. Rumbold had maintained connection with Francis during his Governorship of Madras. Hastings was dissatisfied with the terms on which Pondicherry was allowed to capitulate in 1778 and he moved in the Supreme Council the resolution ordering the destruction of its fortifications. Francis agreed that while the capitulations were exceptionable, he would not consent to the proposal as the Governor-General "meant nothing but to throw a slur on Rumbold and Munro."

In April, 1781, a Secret Committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic. Francis, who had meanwhile returned to England from Bengal, was busy in his own way, presenting Indian affairs to the British public in such a way as to arouse public indignation and attributing all the evils of the situation to the personal ambition of Hastings and to his disregard of the orders of the Direc-

tors. An anonymous pamphlet entitled ' A State of the British authority in Bengal under the Government of Mr. Hastings . . . . ' and addressed to the Court of Directors was published by Woodfall and its authorship was popularly assigned to Francis. In fact it was an expansion of Francis' letter to the Directors penned in October, 1780. This pamphlet was effective in its purpose. It produced an outcry and a demand for an inquiry. Hence the appointment of the Select Committee in February, 1781, to inquire into the administration of justice in India and of the Secret Committee of April, 1781, to inquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic. This latter Committee was to investigate into the financial distresses of the Nawab of Arcot and to the quarrels over his assignment with Sir Thomas Rumbold against whom there as an indictment for corruption already. Francis thus inspired the formation of two committees of inquiry on India affairs and the utmost fear was marked by ' a distressed Ministry, the Directors divided between Hastings' friends and his avowed opponents, anonymous publications circulating and the authorities inundated with plans for the government of British India which was becoming in fact a popular topic.'

Francis in fact captured the Opposition and the Secret and Select Committees. He had a staunch supporter in Edmund Burke whose warm sympathy he indirectly inspired for the ' downtrodden masses of India ' and he greatly helped Burke in the drawing up of the Reports of the Select Committee. To help in the creation of a favourable atmosphere he resorted to anonymous pamphlets and to articles in the dailies and weeklies either anonymous or fathered upon others. Among these pamphlets was one which contained injurious reflections on the Nuncomar Case, on the conduct of Impey and other judges and the quarrel between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council. This was followed by a pamphlet purporting to be an authentic copy of the original minutes of the Governor-General and Council on the appointment of Sir Elija Impey to be the Judge of the Sudder Diwani Adawlat. The Select Committee seized on this prey. Francis frequently interviewed Burke, while the Directors and the Commons denounced the arrangement as a ' flagrant job.' Francis wrote to Sir John Day: " Nuncomar is returned and like Caesar's ghost, with Ate by his side, is now raging for revenge." He hoped that Impey would soon be a condemned man, and success but whetted his appetite. He wanted that the inquires instituted in Parliament should not stop with Rumbold and the Judges of the Supreme Court, but should extend to everything

done in all the three Presidencies. He drew up a comprehensive plan of inquiry for Dundas who presided over the Secret Committee and thus gave the latter his first lesson in Indian politics, besides creating in his mind a rooted hostility to Hastings. Hastings sent his own agent, Scott,—later Major Scott-Waring—who came determined to beat Francis at his own game of manipulating the press. In February, 1782, General Smith presented the first Report of the Select Committee. A loud cry was raised that Impey should be recalled. Great was the opprobrium in which Hastings was held in the Report and Scott saw that the more he defended Hastings, the more the latter's name got into the mire.

The importance of the whole episode of Rumbold lies in its demonstrating more even than any other factor, the prevalence of corruption and faction in the India House and the spread of this infection into the Parliamentary life and into general politics. Miss M. Rumbold's *Vindication* of her father convinced Marshman that the general stream of authorities condemning Sir Thomas should be stemmed and he held that the chapter in Indian History relating to Rumbold would have to be rewritten. Perhaps we may be permitted to add that the chapter would have only to be repatched in places and not entirely rewritten, because Rumbold was a characteristic product of the times and a fair specimen of the Indian Nabob, and though the case against him was exaggerated, it could never be erased in its main features.

EMPLOYEE SELECTION AND OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS

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IT is after all a common-day experience that reality does not allow one to achieve what is expected. One's expectation can meet with success only when proper all round precautions are taken and all possible loopholes on the way of achievement are guarded against in advance. If a person does not equip himself in a proper way when he is going to achieve something it is quite natural that his aspiration will meet with frustration in the long run. It often happens that he fails to detect the reason for his failure. This inability to go to the root of the matter is a frequent cause of the misunderstanding that in many cases is found to exist between the emloyer and the employee. The employer thinks that as he is paying money to the employee he is entitled to the fullest benefit out of the latter. When the employee, however fails to accomplish the task assigned to him, the employer at once jumps to the conclusion that the only cause of the failure has been the negligence on the part of the employee. The employee sometimes attempts to convince his employer that it was incapacity and not negligence that was the cause of the unfortunate happening but the latter remains unconvinced. The employer comes to believe that the employee is a deceit while the latter on the other hand suffers considerably because his sincerity has been questioned. The result is that none of them feels happy in any way. As the failures become more frequent the tension grows in intensity.

But cannot this be avoided? Is there no way out of the employer's ' will not ' and employee's ' can not '? The reply came from an unexpected corner, *viz.*, the desk of a psychologist. The psychologist solved the deadlock created by the employee's ' can not ' and the employer's ' will not ' with a simple as well as convincing reply, ' can not will.' He drew attention to the simple common-place fact of individual limitations. Is it not preposterous to expect ' a silk purse out of a sow's ears' as the common saying goes? Human limitations are

generally recognised and appreciated, but appreciation and recognition are of no value unless manifested concretely in actual practice. With these preliminary observations let me now proceed to discuss a problem which is not only of much concern to the employees but is also of immense importance to the employers of the diverse establishments in the country.

It has always been vaguely recognised that the successful performance of the different tasks in the various professions demand the presence of different qualities and different degrees of ' abilities ' in the performers. This general impression lies at the back of the gradation of posts that we find everywhere. Increasing magnitudes of more or less the same abilities are demanded as we rise from the post of the mechanic to that of the Engineer. The remuneration of the Engineer of a firm may be the same as that of the Medical Officer because though the tasks of the two differ enormously, the difference may not be clearly expressed in terms of abilities. They agree in both being highly intellectual and responsible tasks. Occupations are thus found to be divided and graded as administrative or executive, highly skilled, skilled, etc.

There is no denying that limitations and differences regarding suitability for occupations do exist. Not merely in the matter of suitability for occupations, but it is a fact that human beings differ among themselves in every respect, *e.g.*, intellectually, emotionally, temperamentally, in their attitudes and aptitudes and in thousand other ways. Exactly in a similar way occupations differ amongst themselves, that is, there are occupational limitations and divergences. Some occupations demand a higher degree of intelligence than others; in one an assertive temperament is an asset, in another an ability to speak fluently is highly desirable and so on. It is the duty of all concerned to find out ways and means by which the individual limitations and occupational demands may in every case be given the fullest consideration and be co-ordinated in a proper way.

This brings us to the question of rightly selecting the proper man out of many for an occupation for which suitable native endowments made him fit. Right selection implies first, that the task demanded by an occupation would be successfully performed and second, that proper justice to the native capacites of the man who is selected for the occupation would be done. Both of these implications are matters of great concern to those who have been taxing their brains with problems of employment psychology. Moreover the key-note of all industrial success

lies in the fact of ' Maximum output, minimum labour.' Unfortunately the reverse of this is found in many industrial concerns, local as well as foreign. The progressive deteriorations of many such concerns and even the total extinction of some may ultimately be traced to the careless disregard of the fact stated above. Of course economic, social, political and other factors, to mention a few of them, might have played significant parts for the lamentable condition of those industrial concerns, but in most of the cases the presence of ' unsatisfactory ' workers may be found on enquiry to be the most influential single factor in bringing about the disastrous consequences.

A worker, who by his very nature is unsuitable for a particular task assigned to him, can never yield a good output of work, however, hammered he may be. Hammering means an extra strain on him, an effort to achieve the unachievable. The result really is ' Maximum labour, minmum output.' A misfit is not only a losing concern of the industries and other manifold establishments, but he is a curse to himself as also to those with whom he comes in daily social contact. ' Prevention is better than cure ! ' So every preventive measure should be taken for the exclusion of misfits. That is only possible if individual equipments and occupational requirements are mutually adjusted and properly co-ordinated. If that is done, the result will be an yield of maximum output on the side of occupation, and on the side of the employee he will pass a life of satisfaction and harmony, his native endowments being properly utilised. Such a situation is no doubt an extremely happy one and highly to be coveted, but how to bring about that is really the most difficult task. Though difficult it is not an impossible task as I shall try to show in this paper.

In former days the employment of men was simply a matter of whims of the superior officers. In many instances it was found that good services rendered by the guardian and other relatives of a job-seeker in an establishment stood as a guarantee for the suitability of the latter for a particular post. Cases were not infrequent where a few drops of tears of the about-to-retire gentleman were a sufficiently potent factor in helping him to secure a job for his ward. Malicious people there are who refer to many kinds of malpractices that used to be followed in those days by some employers, in the affairs of employing men. It does not seem to be desirable to discuss these practices in this connection, but this much can be mentioned that the employer in many cases did not care even to have a look at the profile of the man whom he was going to appoint.

Then came a period when the problem of selecting employees was met by the adoption of the method of interviewing the candidates. This, however, did not improve matters. The interviewer mainly asked questions regarding name of the candidate, his address, his father's name and sometimes about the ' height of Mount Everest,' ' name of Balmiki's grandfather ' or ' the inventor of steam engine.' Such a procedure did not enlighten the employer in a better way than did the previously mentioned methods for judging the suitability of a candidate. Inadequacy of such a procedure was soon felt and the selection procedure made headway in other channels for the achievement of better results.

Whether for the increase in the number of the educated unemployed or for the consideration of smooth running of the job, demand of certain educational or technical standard was the next drive in matters of appointment. This was a deviation from the former practice where ideas such as ' experience will lead to success ' or ' the unlimited range of human adaptability ' were given undue emphasis by the employers. Here also interviewing was maintained, in certain cases as a supplement only, but there was no modification in its method and the age-old practice was retained. But in addition to this, steps were taken for the formation of Boards consisting of experts whose opinions about the relative merits of candidates might be considered as infallible. Such a procedure is still maintained in many establishments and is resorted to in all cases of appointments whether higher or lower. Unfortunately cases are not infrequent where ranking of a particular candidate by different judges, on a merit scale basis, has been found to be so variable that the candidate can occupy any position on the scale from first to last. However much may this procedure be acclaimed by some to be very reliable, the factors necessary for a happy selection which I shall mention presently do not in this procedure receive the proper attention and handling that they deserve.

This was followed in certain establishments by the arrangement of written competitive examinations for selection of candidates. This is by far the best method ever adopted in our country. But this procedure is not yet free from the influences of the traditional principles. For example, sometime back a newspaper quoted a few answers to certain questions set in a competitive examination. The candidates were all graduates and of the many questions set, one was, ' what does A. D. C. stand for ' and the other was ' who is the explorer of North Pole.' To the surprise of many, answers given to the questions by some

were 'Asiatic Dramatic Club' and 'Rabindranath' respectively. If these answers were given with proper sincerity and if a candidate who writes such answers is decidedly inferior to the one who answers the questions more correctly, what does it prove? What benefit, I ask, is the employer going to derive out of a man who provides right answers to these questions? He will be appointed, say, as a clerk and will have to carry on the work of adding or computing big arithmetic figures or to maintain office records properly or may have to keep himself engaged in sorting and indexing files—what help will he derive in such occupations by learning right answers to above questions? No knowledge of North Pole or of the abbreviations can help him in any way in the successful termination of his task.

One might say that such a questioning procedure is of utility to the employer who in this way assesses the respective intelligence of the candidates. Right he is, but does the employer know what degree of intelligence he is going to demand from the candidates for a job for which the latter have been allowed to compete. Or will it be reasonable to assume that the set categorical questions, mention of which has been made before, fully evoke the display of one's native intelligence in the sense the term is used by the experts? Moreover to have a wide general knowledge is simply a matter of achievement. A journalist's range of general knowledge is usually more broad than that of a particular research scientist. Will it be justifiable to claim the former to be more intelligent than the latter? And last but not the least I must say that intelligence is not an achievement—it is an aptitude, an innate unchangeable capacity. The relation between aptitude and achievement is of course very close because the latter is nothing but a manifestation of the former. But it should always be remembered that this aptitude usually does not change in quantity, but from the qualitative aspect it may take different configuration according as it is influenced by varied environmental situations and individual psychological qualities like temperament, interest, etc. For this reason it is not fair to generalise as we sometimes do, that a great politician is more intelligent than a poet-laurette or *vice versa*.

From the brief survey of the methods of employee selection it appears that our country has made a forward progress in selection affairs, by totally eliminating the method proved to be futile and adopting the one thought to be better. Even though this be not true in case of every selection and even though old methods are still adopted in many cases, what I would like to point out is that people are

gradually becoming more conscious about the futility of the methods followed by previous generation and that they are attempting to devise a method which would work better than those. Though a better devised method has not yet completely replaced the methods considered to be futile, I fully believe that in the very near future there will be only one method to follow in selection affairs, a method which will do proper justice to the psychological potentialities of every man.

Let me now discuss in brief the method which, when adopted, will prove to be of immense practical value to one faced with the problem of right selection of employees. Adoption of such a method is not only an asset to the employer but a boon to the employees, hovering in darkness for maintaining harmony and peace in their vocational life. The key-note of the method is to be found in individual and vocational analysis. What I do mean by such an analysis is this. I have already pointed out that just as individuals differ amongst themselves as regards talent and temperament, so do the various vocations differ in the psychological demands which they make upon the individuals. By analysis we can assess both qualitatively and quantitatively the talent and temperament of different individuals and get pictures of similar nature in the cases of different vocations too. The best and the most effective method of selection of employees will be the one which proceeds on a comparison of the vocational demands with the psychological equipment of the individual as obtained through the analyses of the vocation on the one side and the individual on the other. That the value of the method does not end only in theory becomes patent when we turn our attention to the success that has been achieved by following this method by such leading countries of the West as England and America. Why not our country, lover of wisdom and truth, follow suit?

The next question, a practical one which arises in this connection is how such an analysis is possible. There may be some who are fully or partially conversant with what I am going to say but there are multitudes of others who are completely ignorant of that. Any way it seems to be worth mentioning how the analyses are to be made. Let us first of all take up the case of vocational analysis.

A detailed comprehensive list of vocations existing in different establishments and in the country as a whole is to be prepared in the

first place. 'New Avenues of Employment'* published by the Government of Bengal will be of immense value for acting as a guide in such a work. After the listing, vocations should be classified according to certain categories, such as Engineering profession which would include those of engineers, surveyors, overseers, mechanics, riveters, etc., profession of Journalism including, reporting, sub-editing, free-lancing, that of Medicine covering general practice, surgery, public health and so on. Classifying in this way the different vocations, record of each of them should be made regarding their pay and prospects, age limit for entry, educational and technical standards if any, methods of appointment and other necessary details as do exist at the present moment. This is a very laborious and time-consuming affair no doubt, but these are the essential preliminaries which must be gone through by one dealing with the problem of vocational analysis. So far about the general aspect of analysis.

We turn now to its technical aspect. The aim in view of vocational analysis as I have already mentioned is to know the different psychological and other qualities required for having a successful vocational career. Successful men there are in different vocations and these persons can easily be spotted out through the co-operation of the employers and other superior officials under whom they have been placed. These persons will then be subjected to analysis for reasons I will presently mention. It can well be assumed that in these cases some way or other a proper conformity has taken place between the innate capacities and tendencies on the one hand and vocational requirements on the other without which success would not have been possible. So it will not be unreasonable to expect a closer agreement of the factors determining success in the respective cases and accordingly attempt should be made in the analysis of successful persons.

There are different methods of analysis two of which in my opinion can be adopted. One is the method of questionnaires and the other is actual testing. In the former case suitable questions are to be prepared with proper care and deliberation, so that the replies can be utilised for the desired ends, whereas in

* Compiled by Dr. N. Das, M.A., Ph.D., I.C.S.—Employment Adviser to the Government of Bengal and published by the Government of Bengal.

the latter case the persons are to be subjected to testing with concrete materials. In practice, however, it may be necessary to adopt both these procedures. For example, for assessing intelligence, special abilities, etc., proper standardised tests are to be administered, whereas in the case of assaying interests, motives, temperament and the like, questionnaires should be resorted to.

Any way whichever method be adopted, what is necessary is an analytical picture of the requirements in a vocation. So from the analysis of successful persons in a particular vocation, we can definitely arrive at a conclusion regarding the nature and degree of psychological demands of a vocation and their relative importance in the field of vocational success. In this way ' profiles ' of different vocations are to be prepared, wherefrom we can find at a glance, the degree of intelligence and other special abilities, the nature of temperament and other emotional peculiarities and similar other factors necessary for having a successful vocational career. The opinions of the employers and other experts who are expected to possess knowledge about the requirements of the vocation with which they themselves are concerned, are of no less a practical value and so these can be utilised where necessary in supplanting or supplementing the analyses obtained in the previously mentioned way. So far for the solution of the problem of vocational requirements. With this weapon in hand let us see how far the problem of employee selection can be solved. This however, leads us to the question of individual analysis.

Talents and temperaments as we already know are the rulers of human life, holding the steering of man's activities and making him happy or unhappy according as these are properly utilised or are abused. Social, political, economic or industrial, whatever be the system of belief one may cling to, we find that all of these converge at least on one point and that is, human being in general must be made happy. Or in other words that human energies, rather his abilities and aptitudes should be properly and thoroughly utilised, is the aim in view of all sections of people. This leads us to questions that unless these psychological factors are known and chalked out, how can they be properly utilised? Again is there any way of assessment of such factors? Many of us know that the science of Psychology has helped us a lot in this affair and has revealed the fact that individual analysis is possible, that by the adoption of suitable testing procedures, all psychological qualities can be actually and precisely measured and that gaining knowledge about an individual from such an assessment, the nature of

his future activities can be foretold. As tests are in existence for assessing the different psychological factors let us see how analysis is to be carried out and what these factors are which are to be studied in analysing an individual, I shall present the factors and discuss them very briefly.

(*a*) Intelligence : The range of intelligence of the individual is to be assessed first by application of tests.

(*b*) Special abilities : Abilities such as manual ability, mechanical ability, etc., are to be measured by administering suitable tests.

(*c*) Temperament, interests and motives : These are to be assessed by adoption of the method of questionnaires, from test behaviours and from a well planned interview with the candidate.

Sometimes the psychologist in additon to administering and adopting the above procedures applies special vocational tests in cases of certain vocations. These tests, however, are to be prepared in the light of experience gained through vocational analysis or tests of similar nature existing in foreign countries may be adopted for the purpose after necessary modification and making them suitable to our local conditions. It should be mentioned in this connection that these tests after all come under the category of tests for special abilities. In this way a psychological profile of the individual with references to his vocational fitness is to be obtained.

Analysing the individuals in this way and comparing the respective results with the qualitative and quantitative psychological requirements of a particular vocation obtained previously through its analysis, the task of selecting the most suitable man out of many for a vocation, becomes more or less an easy affair. Notwithstanding the problems raised by the psychologist regarding vocational and individual limitations, some may argue still as to the validity and the scientific nature of the procedure of selection that I have been discussing so long. In reply it may be pointed out first that unless there be some merit in the procedure it would never have been adopted by all the leading countries of the West and Japan in the Far East, in the matter of selection of employees. Moreover a procedure whether valid and reliable can be judged only when it is subjected to test and efforts are made to put it into actual practice.

Let then these efforts be made first and the procedure put to actual test before a judgment is pronounced about its efficacy or otherwise. Two more points should be taken notice of regarding the above procedure and I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention them. First, it

may seem that by following this procedure individuals can be fitted to different vocations with complete perfection or exactness like a bolt in a nut. It might happen in certain cases, but it will be too pedantic and dogmatic to hold that it will happen in all the cases. This however, can be said with definiteness, that a misfit, a burden to himself and the society and a losing concern to the employer can be easily detected by this method and prevented thereby from entering a particular vocation. Secondly, though the procedure appears to be a time-consuming and laborious affair, practical experience teaches us that actually it is not so. As a matter of fact for complete examination of an individual 4 to 5 hours' time is sufficient which is certainly less than that taken by different competitive examinations. Lastly, some might believe that putting such an ambitious scheme into actual practice involves expenditure of a huge sum of money. Under the present economic condition therefore our country cannot help hesitating before she undertakes to shoulder this huge financial responsibility. Let me assure all concerned that experience has shown that the expenditure for the running of such a scheme is never so large as apprehended. Moreover, I should say that the purpose served by the scheme cannot be evaluated by the sum of money spent for it.

It is perhaps apparent now from the above discussions what meagre attention has so far been paid by us to such an important problem as employee selection. The futility of the methods usually followed by our countrymen in such selection and the benefits to be derived from the procedure which is based on scientific lines, as pointed out by me and which is followed by the Western countries and by Japan in the East, have also, I hope, been sufficiently brought about.

I have discussed the technical aspect of the procedure to be adopted in problems of employee selection. But difficulty might arise if one asks as to how such a scheme can be given a practical shape to the benefit of different establishments and industrial concerns of the country. It is not to be expected that these organisations should take the initiative in the matter. To obviate this difficulty I may make a suggestion : Let an organisation be formed consisting of a few psychologists and some experts in the lines of vocational problems. The first and foremost function of the organisation will be to carry on researches for obtaining knowledge of the psychological and other requirements of the diverse types of vocation existing in the country. The organisation cannot proceed a single step in this direction unless the employers of different establishments lend their co-operative hands. It is upon the

latter's help and co-operation that the organisation can carry on its researches. Analysing different vocations and simultaneously finding out suitable vocational and other tests for individual examination, shall be one of the basic activities of the organisation. Its next activity will be to help and co-operate with the employers in matters of selecting the right employees for various vocations.

I should point out one more fact relating to general appreciation and response to the vocational problems, otherwise the subject of discussion will remain an incomplete one. About nine years back efforts were made by the Psychology Department of the University of Calcutta to enable her in carrying on researches on different vocational problems. It will be a pleasure to all sections of people to learn that the University of Calcutta has for some time past appreciated the importance of the Psychology Department's efforts in this direction. A special Section of Applied Psychology was added to the Department of Psychology in 1938. Since its inception the Section has given attention to the problem of vocational and educational guidance and is carrying on valuable researches to this end.

ON QUANTITATIVE METRE*

C. S. MILFORD

THIS is a small section of the recently published collected poems of Sri Aurobindo, and has been published separately, as well as being included in one of the larger volumes. It consists of fifteen poems in classical metres, together with an introductory essay. Sri Aurobindo has certainly been much more successful than most of those who have tried to adapt the Greek and Latin metres to English ; but though his criticisms of his predecessors in this field are penetrating and well founded, his own theories leave much to be desired. The first part of this review deals only with the theory and must not be taken as criticising the poems themselves which are discussed afterwards.

The author says that there are three elements of English rhythm, namely accent (which might better be called tone or intonation), stress, and quantity (*i.e.*, the actual length of time taken in pronouncing a syllable). But he is not correct in his analysis of the relation between them. He writes "Accentual high pitch and stress most frequently coincide—indeed many refuse to make any distinction between stress of accent and stress proper... But ...there can be a more independent stress principle of metre; for, properly speaking, stress means not accentual high pitch, but weight of voice emphasis; it is a brief hammer-stroke of the voice from above which comes down on a long-vowel or a short-vowel syllable." Similar definitions of stress have been given by innumerable authorities, but nevertheless I believe that they are wrong ; and that the prominence of the stressed syllables is due partly to the vowel quality, partly to length (though length cannot be in any sense equated with stress) and largely to intonation.[1] The rise and fall of the musical tone is thus an intimate part of the stress, (though here again it is an over-simplification to say simply that high tone indicates stress, although this very often is so) and it

* Sri Aurobindo—On Quantitative Metre. Sri Aurobindo Asram, Pondicherry.

1 The writer of this review takes the liberty of referring to his own article on this subject published in the Journal of the Department of Letters of Calcutta University, 1942.

cannot be defined as an independent and parallel element. The "hammer-stroke" I believe to be almost entirely an illusion arising from the fact that the speaker *feels* he is emphasising a certain syllable without exactly analysing how he does it. Sri Aurobindo gives an instance from his own poetry where he claims that accent disappears altogether as a metrical base, and stress replaces it:

I have stood up | on the mountains | of the Splendour, | I have
spun a | round my spirit | like a garment | the purple of | its skies.

He comments, "It is evident that here there are accentual inflexions other than those taken up into stress, on one syllable even a low pitch, but because they are not reckoned as stresses, they do not count in the metrical structure of the lines." The slight prominence which would be given to the second syllable of *around* in reading this passage as prose is due partly to the diphthong and partly to a rise and fall of intonation, and there seems no reason why it should not be called stress, as it differs only in degree from the other stressed syllables. It is certainly ignored in the metrical structure of the lines, partly through the analogy of the series of obviously unstressed syllables in other feet, partly because a sensitive reader would slightly "flatten out" the intonation in this context. This ignoring for metrical purposes of a natural stress is very common in English verse, and is usually helped by this flattening; but it does not follow at all that the intonation element of stress is thereby ignored. A good instance is Gray's line

The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea

where *winds* must be treated as metrically untressed.

A more important difficulty is the confusion between stress and quantity or length. In giving his "Theory of True Quantity" Sri Aurobindo writes, "There is a dwelling of the voice, a horizontal weight-bar laid across the syllable, or there is its rapid passing, and absence of the weight-bar; that difference decides its natural length, it creates the inherent or intrinsic long or short, *lā zily*, *sweetness*. There is again a vertical ictus weight of the voice, the hammer-stroke of stress on the syllable; that of itself makes even a short-vowel syllable metrically long, as in *heavily*, *aridity*." This perpetuates a confusion which has dogged the steps of almost all English prosodists, and which has its root in the phrase "*metrically long*." In Latin and Greek poetry, the length of the syllables did form the metrical basis; but in

English this is done by stress, and though length plays a vital part in the rhythm its function is a different one. Their true relation was first clearly pointed out by Coventry Patmore, whose work on prosody has recently been rescued from obscurity by Dr. D. S. McColl. Metre is the regular measure of equal time-quantities marked by initial stress: stress is that which measures: time, length or quantity is that which is measured. In *lazily* stress and length coincide, in *aridity* the stress falls on a short syllable. To call the second syllable of the latter word metrically *long* therefore introduces a fundamental confusion. Sri Aurobindo seems many times on the verge of recognising this fact, but he never quite does so, and continues to equate incommensurables throughout his essay.

In his practice, he tacitly recognises the facts. In his hexameters the first syllables of the feet are very often short as regards true quantity, but without a single exception they are all stressed. He never attempts to make an unstressed long syllable stand in this position, though according to his own theory there is no reason why it should not; and he rightly criticises the absurdities into which Bridges fell through doing this when he tried to base his hexameters strictly on quantity only: as in

In playful combat some wrestling upon the yellow sand

or

In no certain abode we remain; by turn the forest glade.

Here we have two different kinds of long unstressed syllable in the 2nd syllable of *yellow* the length is due to the vowel sound: in *forest* the second syllable is long because of the combination of consonants, further strengthened by the following *gl*. According to the rules of Latin prosody such syllables could quite properly occupy this position, at the beginning of the final spondee; but any sensitive reader of English who is not blinded by academic theory feels that they have to be artificially emphasised in these lines. The fact is that English needs a stress to mark the beginning of the foot, and length, whether from vowel or consonants, is something different from this and cannot take its place. Sri Aurobindo recognises this in his practice, but unfortunately not in his theory. He gives as his first "Rule of Quantitative Verse" the following: "All stressed syllables are metrically long, as are also all long-vowel syllables even without stress." In order to remove the confusion between length and stress and to harmonise with his own practice we should have to rewrite this, "Any

stressed syllable can stand at the beginning of a dactyl or spondee whether it is long or short; long-vowel syllables without stress, or syllables with a short vowel followed by a heavy group of consonants are suitable for the second syllable of a spondee but out of place in the second or third syllable of a dactyl."

In this connection one other point should be noted. In the above lines Bridges reckoned the second syllables of *playful* and *combat* as long by pedantically following the classical rule that any two consonants together lengthen the preceding vowel. Sri Aurobindo rightly points out the artificiality of this, and says that a heavier combination of consonants is required to give real length, and the ear must be the judge. But as pointed out above, this does not get to the root of Bridges' mistake, for even genuine length as in " forest glade " does not enable an unstressed syllable to stand in such a position. Also surely Sri Aurobindo is wrong when he maintains that " each word in English is independent and has its own metrical value unaffected by the word that follows " so that there is nothing corresponding to Sandhi in English. In fact a heavy combination of consonants at the beginning of a word may have a profound effect on the preceding syllable. In a hexameter line which he quotes from Clough

Found amid granite dust on the frosty scalp of the Cairngorm

frosty is made into a perfectly good (quantitative) spondee solely by the following consonants. The length in these cases has really nothing to do with the vowel ; it is the pronunciation of the consonants themselves which takes the time.

We may conclude that these poems are not really in Quantitative Metre, but in Greek and Latin metres adapted to the English stress system. The author virtually admits this when he writes, " Let us note, first, that there can be no idea of replacing altogether the normal accentual mould of English verse by a quantitative structure ; . . . Even if the new forms are only an improvement on stress metre, a rhythm starting from the same swing of the language, that is not objection ; it may still be worth doing if it brings in new tunes, other cadences, fresh subtelties of word-music." This Sri Aurobindo has assuredly done. He has in fact done very much the same as Tennyson in his Alcaic lines on Milton, with a good deal of more freedom, thus avoiding much of the rigidity which he says makes Tennyson's lines " stiff beyond measure."

Coming to the poems themselves, we will consider the hexameters

first, for the author says, " Among these metres the hexameter stands as the central knot of the problem ; if that is loosened, the rest follows." It cannot he said that the problem is here wholly loosened. The Classical hexameter could afford a rigidity because of the interplay of the quantity which gave form, with the stress which was largely independent of the foot structure ; but the recurring stresses of English make monotony much more difficult to avoid. By varying the use of pauses, of the caesura, and other devices which he enumerates Sri Aurobindo has done much to achieve this, but still one does not feel that the hexameter has become fully naturalised. In Greek and Latin this was a duple metre, deriving much of its dignity from the fact that the two halves of the foot were approximately equal in length, which gave a sonorous and weighty effect to classical ears. English naturally tends to the lighter triple rhythm, and the frequent use of short initial syllables in the feet, while helping to avoid the besetting danger of monotony, makes the reader from time to time hesitate as to which rhythm should be predominating in his mind. No doubt it would be a help here if one could hear the author read the lines himself.

Of the other metres, the elegiacs are perhaps the least satisfactory. Here all the difficulties of the hexamater are intensified by the highly conventional nature of the metre ; and the effect is decidedly artificial. The Ionic and Aschepiad metres also, with their consecutive long syllables, present special difficulties in English. To reproduce the classical effect, successive stressed syllables have to be freely used ; *e.g.*,

At the way's end when the shore raised up its dim line and
remote lights from the port glimmered.

This has some kinship with the " spring rhythm " which modern poets have experimented, but to tie it down to a strict metrical form makes it sound unnatural.

To my mind by far the most successful are the Alcaics and Sapphics. The author himself says, ' The Alcaic is the most attract ive and manageable of the ancient lyrical metres " ;—many would say, of all the classical metres without exception, and one could wish that Sri Aurobindo had written more in this form instead of some of the hexameters. A word of gratitude is also due to him for rescuing the Sapphic metre from the corrupt form into which it was used by the old translators of Latin hymns, which has been its chief use in English.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., PH.D.

ON the 25th of October last the Czech residents of Calcutta observed the 24th anniversary of the birth of the Czechoslovak state. It is of course not to be assumed that on that date twenty-four years ago this state, now engulfed by Nazi Germany, was first created. There is in fact some controversy as to the exact date of its birth. Masaryk, the father of Czechoslovakia, was himself not exactly sure about it. It was on October 14, 1918, that the National Council which had been constituted in France in 1916 to act as the supreme authority in allied countries in respect of all Czech affairs was transformed into a Provisional Government and notification to that effect was made to the allies. So it may not be unreasonable to assume that Czechoslovakia was born on that date. But it should be known that it was not till four days later that the Declaration of Independence was issued at Washington. This step was taken in order that necessary publicity might be given to, and popular sympathy in America might be enlisted in favour of, the new state. The American public has ever in mind its own Declaration of Independence in 1776 and is inured to the tradition thus set by Jefferson and his colleagues. In view of this it was thought wise by Masaryk and his lieutenants that Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak state should be drawn up in appropriate language and issued to the public at a suitable moment. From this standpoint the date October 18, 1918, has been regarded as important in Czechoslovak history and may, by some, be actually put down as the birthday of the new state in Central Europe.

We have again to reckon with October 28 of the same year. All notifications and pronouncements regarding Czech independence had so far been made in allied countries. It was on the latter date that the National Committee in Prague "proclaimed itself as a Government." It is not unnatural therefore that this date should be "generally accepted as the birthday" of Czechoslovakia. But though historians and lawyers may quarrel as to the exact date on which the new republic was born, to the general reader it is only important that in the latter half of October, 1918, Czechs and Slovaks who had been

for three hundred years under the thraldom of the Empire of Austro-Hungary became once more free and independent. True, after enjoying this freedom and independence for two decades the Czechs fell under the thraldom of the Third Reich but they have not given way to despair. Nor have they become inured to slavery. A nation which waits and works for better days, never fails to reach them.

The Czechs who form a part of the great Slavic race had a long history and a well developed civilization before their final defeat at the hands of the Germans of Austria. Inhabiting the province of Bohemia, they gave evidence of their spirit of nationalism as early as the fifteenth century when this principle was hardly understood in any part of Europe. Their Kings had introduced into the country a growing number of Germans on the grounds that they possessed excellent industrial skill and that they served as a useful counterpoise to the haughty and independent Czech nobles. This infiltration of Germans, however, went gradually too far and the German element became too powerful both in the church and in the University of Prague. A reaction naturally set in among the Czech people against this Germanisation. John Hus, the famous religious reformer, set up his standard of revolt against religious malpractices and the movement thus released did not remain confined to the province of religion but became comprehensive in character and took by rapid strides the shape of Czech national movement against foreign elements. John Hus has ever since remained a great national leader to successive generations of Czech people. Nothing gave greater inspiration to the Czech patriots of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries than the stand which Hus took and the cruel death which he suffered for it at the stake in 1415. It is significant that Masaryk, then in exile from his country and actively engaged in organising his countrymen abroad against Austria, raised the Hussite standard on the 5th of July, 1915, in the Hall of the Reformation at Geneva on the occasion of the fourth centenary of Czech martyr's death. This was in fact the hoisting of the flag of Czech independence.

The Hussite wars which followed Hus's burning at the stake and which were characterised by the daring and originality of the blind General, Ziska, represented the supreme effort on the part of the Czechs to maintain their independence against the crusading zeal of all Europe. The effort succeeded. Ziska's invention of the "wagon-fort," a precursor of the modern tank, became a great source of

strength to the Hussites and they triumphed ultimately in the fight though all Europe was ranged against them. But this triumph was only temporary. Their victories gave them only a short respite. Less than a century later they fell a prey to Hapsburg ambition and came under the Austrian domination, which lasted three hundred years and was over only with the dissolution of the ramshackle empire in 1918. Nothing could have been a greater curse to the Czech people and more blighting in its effect upon Czech civilisation than this domination by Austria. Bohemia lost three-quarters of her people either by exile or by simple slaughter. The Hussite bible was burnt, the Czech language itself was proscribed and Czech books, wherever found, were destroyed. The Czech nobility was virtually exterminated and anything which smacked of the Hussite faith and Czech freedom was stamped out. Of all this systematic vandalism, the worst was the destruction of Czech books and the proscription of the Czech language. These had the effect of leaving the Czechs without any national medium for the expression of their thoughts and ideals. The Czech language gradually lost caste and was after a time regarded as "fit only for servants." The Hapsburgs had thought that by this destruction of Czech books and the degradation of the Czech language they were destroying for ever the foundation of Czech civilisation. In this calculation they were wrong. Their systematic efforts succeeded for nearly two centuries but not for all time.

In the last quarter of the 18th century there was a movement for the revival of Czech language and literature. In the 19th it gained momentum and attained unexpected success. But at the start it was a difficult undertaking and it stands to the eternal credit of the pioneers of this movement that they succeeded at all in bringing back to life the Czech culture which, as it has been just pointed out, had been virtually stamped out by the Austrians. A distinguished historian of Czech literature has observed that after the battle of White Mountain "the written language decayed together with literature, until it bade fair to come to grief entirely." "In the middle of the eighteenth century there was nowhere any hope that the Czech nation, now trodden under foot, would ever be able to recover itself. Only among the peasants, unnoticed, a small flame of sound national life was preserved." There was every likelihood that this small flame also would be soon extinguished by the pressure of Germanism in the country. But a few grammarians and poets earned the gratitude of posterity

by making the first attempt at rescuing the Czech language from oblivion before it was too late. It was late already and the task was difficult and uphill. But the enthusiasm of the revivalists was irrepressible. The atmosphere in Europe in the second fifty years of the 18th century was also favourable to this movement. Rationalism was everywhere in the air. The ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire and Herder, were abroad. The pioneers of the Czech literary movement profited by this atmosphere. The ideas of Emperor Joseph II were also liberal and his policy helpful to Czech efforts.

The revival of Czech language and literature again had the same effect upon the Czech population as the revival of Greek studies had upon the European people a few centuries earlier. It brought life into every limb of the Czech body, which had by this time become practically inert. There was again a throbbing of the heart and the Czechs, now inspired by their literature and enthused by the discovery of their glorious past, started a political movement for better status and greater opportunities in life. Education is the basis of all political agitation and the Czechs concentrated for years upon bringing this boon to the door of their families. Illiteracy was gradually and increasingly reduced until by the end of the 19th century it was less than one per cent. A number of High Schools was set up and arrangements were made for the liberal education of advanced and ambitious students. The University of Prague which had been at one time such a great centre of their activities was for centuries in German hands and a new Czech University had to be established in the same city to provide higher education through Czech medium.

The political demands of the Czech nationalists were in the last century rather modest. They were not secessionists. They did not demand the withdrawal of the Czech provinces from the Empire of the Hapsburgs, and their constitution into an independent state. They did not believe in the dissolution of the Empire. In fact Francis Palacky the patriotic historian, who interpreted the meaning of Czech history to the people, even went to the length of declaring that " if Austria had not existed it would have been necessary to invent her." There were three reasons why he came to this conclusion. He certainly believed that the assorted provinces which made up the Hapsburg empire could not stand for long in isolated independence. Economically, politically and strategically they were too interdependent. Secondly, he must have appreciated the strength of pan-Germanism

which was in the German blood. The dissolution of the Hapsburg empire would have meant a victory to pan-German ambition and against its flood tide the Czechs would find it impossible to stand the ground. The Hapsburg empire was the only effective dam against this flood, which otherwise would sweep the Czechs away. It was on this ground that the Czechs of Bohemia were the staunchest and the sturdiest supporters of Austria in the Austro-German war of 1866, although the Czechs were treated with scant courtesy and even contempt for this support. Thirdly, Palacky had possibly, like other 19th century patriots, cherished the hope that Hapsburg imperialism and Czech autonomy might not be inconsistent.

What the Czech patriots really demanded in the last century and in the early years of the present was full provincial autonomy within the bosom of the Hapsburg empire with military and foreign affairs under the control of the central imperial Government. But this autonomy for the Czech provinces was resisted consistently and vigorously by the Government. The Czechs, it may be repeated, were treated as belonging to an inferior race and unfit on that account for self-government. The contemptuous treatment they received is illustrated not only by their language being regarded as fit only for servants but by such notices as " Jews, Czechs and dogs not allowed " being put up in many places. It is a tragedy that although feeling against the jews was bitter even in pre-Hitler Germany, many of them were strangely and rabidly pan-German and therefore anti-Czech. Dr. Heimrich Friedjung, a leading historian and journalist of Austria, who made himself so notorious in the Agram trial before the last war, was only one of them. Secondly, the demand for Czech autonomy was opposed effectively by the Sudeten Germans. They constituted a large minority in the Czech country and hated the Czech majority with a hatred of which only a racially arrogant minority threatened with a loss of power is capable. Their opposition to the demand for Czech autonomy was born of apprehension as to their own status and influence in the autonomous province. It was certainly unjustified and unreasonable but it succeeded. It became an excellent reason for the Hapsburg imperialists who also hated the Czechs and other Slav communities inside the empire to reject the Czech demands. In 1867 far-reaching concessions were made to the Magyars of Hungary and the Hapsburg Empire became henceforward a Dual Monarchy but the Czechs remained virtually where they were.

When all the agitation for real provincial autonomy and national independence within the bosom of the Empire brought little result, the Czechs became rather desperate. The annexation of the Slav provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1909 by the Austrian Government finally brought home to the Czech people that there was no hope as to their political future without the dissolution of the Empire. And to that end they were henceforward to work. The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 provided them with an opportunity which they did not miss. It stands to the credit of Masaryk and his lieutenants, Benes and Stefanik, that they appreciated the arrival of the right moment to hurl their attack. It was of course a dangerous game for them to play but they did not flinch from it.

It should be known that at this moment there were two groups among the Czechs, both of which wanted the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire but their outlook and approach were different. Many of the Czechs were saturated with the ideas and ideals of pan-Slavism and looked to Russia for inspiration, guidance and protection. They believed that they could attain their salvation only as an autonomous province within the great empire of the Czar. Dr. Kramar, who later became the first Premier of Czechoslovakia and one of the delegates on behalf of his state to the Peace Conference at Versailles, was a leading member of this group. Masaryk was, however, of a different opinion. He had studied Russia at first hand and was convinced that the Russian Government was too reactionary, its interest was too narrow and its future was too uncertain and as such it would be unwise, if not suicidal, for the Czechs to connect their destiny with that of Czarist Russia. It was true that the Russian Government posed as the protector of the Slavs wherever they might be. But actually their interest was confined to those Slavs who belonged to the Orthodox Church. It should also be emphasised that the Hapsburg Government had destroyed altogether the old Czech landed aristocracy and the growth of nationalism among the Czechs synchronised with the growth of the new educated middle class. Naturally and inevitably this nationalism was of the western democratic type. Masaryk was himself imbued out and out with this western spirit and he believed that this democratic nationalism of his country would not fit in at all with the overlordship of the Czar. In fact his eyes were away from Russia and the East and were directed west of the Rhine. His democratic nationalism made him as unsympathetic towards Czarist Russia as towards its

successor, the Soviet Union. This one-sided westernism proved ultimately suicidal to the Czechoslovak Republic in 1938-39 but for the time being it was right.

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the maker and the first President of the Czechoslovak state, was born in 1850 of Slovak parents. The social status and economic position of the family can be gauged from the fact that his father was employed in one of the imperial estates, first as a groom, then as a coachman and subsequently as a steward. It was both will and luck which made him what he became out of these unfavourable circumstances. After a few years of schooling he was actually apprenticed to a blacksmith but the work to which his father wanted to chain him proved uncongenial and the kindness shown towards him by an Austrian police chief provided him with the ladder for climbing to intellectual eminence and political greatness. In 1876 at the age of twenty-six he got the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Vienna. The thesis presented on the occasion was not, as it is commonly supposed, on *Suicide* but on *The Nature of the Soul in Plato*. The thesis on suicide was presented later to the Philosophical Faculty of this University as an auxiliary to his application for a lecturership.

It was only after doing odd jobs for about three years that he secured this lecturership in 1879. He stayed on at this post till 1882. In this latter year a bill was passed by the Austrian Parliament, providing for the establishment of a Czech University at Prague. The Prime Minister, Count Taaffe, was a liberal and this accounts for the passing of the bill, although it was fought at every stage very doggedly and bitterly by the reactionary German members. In any event the University was started at Prague in 1882 and Masaryk was appointed an extraordinary professor on a small salary. So began his career of educational and political leadership at the Czech capital. His ambition was not to attain cheap popularity and resort to short cuts to either public or official favour. The task that he set to himself was that of preparing the Czech people intellectually and morally for the independence which they were to win in the nick of time. In the University he delivered lectures, which were both learned and fresh. They drew an increasing number of students from all Slav territories.

But his ambition was not, as it has been hinted already, merely academic. In fact, it should be known that the vocation of a teacher he did not choose of his own accord. He had originally wanted to

enter the diplomatic service but shut out from this career he chose the teaching line as the next best. It was not enough for him to win merely academic laurels. His mission was to train the people so that they might become as great as any other people in Europe. To this end he started magazines and periodicals and published articles on different aspects of Czech national life By his lectures in the class room and by his writings in the periodical press, he wanted to liberate the Czech mind from superstition and imbue it with high ideals and noble purposes. The Czechs must be nationalist in outlook and act up to the best traditions of their country. But this nationalism to be real and genuine must be fed, he thought, only on the genuine achievements of the Czechs in the past. If it was to be propped up by fake and spurious discoveries as to the past greatness of his people, it would lose all its value and prove harmful to them in the long run. This is why he did not hesitate to declare some manuscripts, said to contain a number of Czech poems composed in the tenth century, as rank forgeries. This declaration on his part was an act of considerable courage. Nothing had stimulated greater national pride among the Czechs than this so-called discovery and his declaration not only cost him his popularity but made him a traitor in the eyes of a large body of his countrymen. He showed similar courage when he took up cudgels on behalf of a hated jew, Hilsner, accused of ritual murder. He espoused his cause both on the ground that in his opinion Hilsner was innocent and was a victim of popular superstition and also on the ground that this superstition as to the custom of ritual murder among the jews was a drawback in Czech traditions and should be eradicated once and for ever. But when on these two grounds he proceeded to leave no stone unturned for the defence of the despised jew, he made himself the enemy of the outraged Czech nation. He, however, did not flinch, once he had put his shoulders to the wheel. He threw his popularity to the winds for the sake of justice. The path he had chosen was not the one for personal advancement. His activities in fact retarded his promotion. He remained an extraordinary professor on a small salary for fourteen years, while several of his own students were allowed to pass him over. It was not till 1896 that he was promoted to an ordinary professorship on a reasonable salary.

In politics also, he could not fall into the rut of regular party principles. Returned to the Austrian Parliament in 1891, he failed

to see eye to eye with the majoritity of the party on whose ticket he had been elected. Accordingly he resigned his seat in 1893 and remained out until in 1907 he was elected on the basis of his own views. He retained this seat till the time of his voluntary exile in December, 1914. It is significant that for part of this period of seven years he had only one other colleague who was elected on the same ticket and for the remaining period he was the only member of his party. It may appear very strange to the readers of these pages that a man who had no team spirit and who could plough only a lonely furrow should become the liberator of his nation and remain at the head of a democratic state for seventeen years, until in fact old age and consequent infirmity persuaded him to go into voluntary retirement in 1935. But the essential aspect of his career should not be missed. While he called spade a spade and made enemies, while he disagreed with the existing parties and personalities and chose to act by himself, he gradually grew in stature and made himself a well known and respected figure in Europe, who would fearlessly expose all evils and stand up full height on behalf of justice, freedom and fairplay. Without acting with old parties, he now stood above parties and became the national representative.

As it has been pointed out already, Masaryk appreciated the significance of the war which broke out in the summer of 1914. He took it as the golden opportunity which the Czechs would miss only to their eternal damnation. It was to be adroitly exploited for the achievement of Czech independence. His fingers were on the pulse of the nation and he was convinced that the patriotic temperature was as high as it should be. He watched the recruitment which the Austrian Government made among the Czechs and he watched very minutely the attitude of these recruits towards this war. He kept himself also in touch with his friends in western countries, particularly in Great Britain. Then by the December of 1914, he thought that if he was to gain his end and achieve independence for his nation, it was urgent that he should leave the Austrian territories and go abroad so that he might help the allies in defeating the Central Powers and work out with their assistance the desired end. Before, however, he left, he took counsel with Dr. Benes and other friends and made some arrangements for keeping in touching with men and things in his country from abroad. Dr. Benes, who became later the inevitable

Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia and the successor of Masaryk in the Presidency of the State, was a student of sociology and a University lecturer on the subject. He became by this time a faithful and ardent coadjutor of Masaryk. The latter left his wife and some other members of his family behind and accompanied only by a daughter went first to Rome and from there to Geneva. The rest of the period of the War he had to remain in exile, spending his time as circumstances demanded, in Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Russia and the United States. He was at this time sixty-four years of age. Dr. Benes also thought it wise to leave his country and stay during the period of the War at Paris, where Milan Stefanik, a Slovak and a reputed Mathematician, had already made his home and taken French citizenship.

With Masaryk in London and Benes and Stefanik in Paris, activities now began in right earnest for Czechoslovak independence. To the Government of Austria they were only "Traitors" but to their countrymen and themselves they were patriots working for their national salvation. Masaryk and his coadjutors in Paris had many problems before them. Upon their right solution depended the future of their cause. They had first of all to persuade the allied Governments to regard the Czechs and Slovaks, who had either been already residents in western Europe or had come over there as exiles during the war, not as enemy aliens to be kept under detention or surveillance but as friends whose activities should be encouraged. Secondly, it was essential that the allied Governments should take a sympathetic and even active interest in the independence of Czechoslovakia after the war. In fact Masaryk and his colleagues were to induce these Governments to accept the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire and the freedom of its component territories as a war aim. As the war grew in years a serious obstacle to the achievement of this purpose appeared periodically. After the death of Emperor Franz Joseph in 1916, Archduke Carl became the Emperor and he sounded the allied Governments through his brother-in-law, the Duke of Parma, as to the withdrawal of Austro-Hungary from the war and the conclusion of a separate peace with him. Masaryk and his friends had to guard against these feelers very assiduously and make impossible any favourable reception of them in important allied circles. Thirdly, they had to create popular enthusiasm both in Western Europe and in the United States for the cause of Czech independence. Lastly,

they had to persuade the allied Governments not only to permit the Czech residents and exiles in allied countries to enlist as soldiers or as airmen but to permit the Czechoslovak prisoners in allied hands to form battalians and fight as Czechoslovak units in the allied armies. This last item of work proved to be the most important and the organisation of an army of more than 125,000 Czech soldiers by Masaryk and his coadjutors turned out to be the trump card in their hands.

In Great Britain Masaryk had several British friends, particularly Wickham Steed and Seton-Watson, who collaborated with him enthusiastically and consistently for the recognition of the Czech ideal. Steed had been for years the correspondent of *The Times* in Vienna. Later he worked in the same capacity in Rome and then became the foreign Editor and Editor of *The Times* in succession. In Vienna he had an excellent opportunity of studying the rotten condition of the Hapsburg Monarchy and became a firm believer in its dissolution. Seton-Watson also had spent considerable time in the Austro-Hungarian Dominions and had become ardently sympathetic towards the cause of Slav independence. In the United States the Czech cause had many supporters. There were large Czech as well as Slovak immigrant groups in that country. Chicago was a great Czech centre and Pittsburgh was a great Slovak centre. These American Czechoslovaks who were enjoying the freedom of the new country became naturally anxious to support actively the demands of their old country for independence. Secondly, Masaryk had also formed other connections and contacts in the United States. His wife was an American lady and he had on past occasions made trips to that country and had delivered lectures in Universities. Some of his friends were very near the President and had his ears. This was an advantage which Masaryk fully and assiduously utilised during his stay there in 1918.

He developed a technique of his own in regard to propaganda. "In the psychology of propaganda," he has himself written, "one point is important—not to imagine that people can be converted to a political idea merely by stating it vigorously and enthusiastically or by harping on its details; the chief thing is to rouse interest in your cause as best you can, indirectly no less than directly. Political agitation often frightens or alienates thoughtful people whom art and literature may attract. Sometimes a single phrase, well used at the

right moment, is enough. Long-windedness is always to be avoided, especially in private talk. True, propaganda of this kind presupposes culture, political and social breadth of view, tact and knowledge of men on the part of those who undertake it. Paderewski and Sienkiewicz—a musician and a writer—had been the most successful propagandists for Poland..."

Propaganda carried on the above basis contributed to Czech success. But, as it has been emphasised already, it was not by propaganda alone that the allies were persuaded to recognise the principle of Czech independence. The creation of a Czech army in the allied countries was very largely responsible for the allied decision. The Czech battalians who were to fight on behalf of Austria on the Russian and Italian fronts surrendered to the Russian and Italian Commanders and the prisoners thus taken were by Masaryk and his colleagues formed into an army of more than 125,000 strong. As the allied man power was depleted by terrible losses, this army became a very important factor and had to be reckoned with. In any event the allied Governments first recognised the Czech National Council and then the principle of the independence of the Czechoslovak state.

The principle of Czech independence had been accepted by the allies before the armistice. But the details as to the frontiers of the new state were chalked out and settled by the Peace Conference at Versailles. Dr. Kramar and Dr. Benes were the delegates at this Conference. The memorandum which they submitted contained eight demands on behalf of their government. Not only the historic lands of Bohemian Crown were to be included in the new state and Slovakia and Ruthenia were to be incorporated therein but a corridor connecting Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was to be created through Hungary. Such a corridor was intended to stimulate Slav unity and solidarity. But any concession to this demand would have been too great an affront to Hungarian feeling. The demand for a corridor was not seriously considered on this account. But Czechoslovakia was recognised as a unitary state, consisting of all the Czech provinces as well as Slovakia and Ruthenia.

The accession of the two latter territories gave the new state a well defined boundary and raised its population strength to about fifteen million. But the drawbacks of this incorporation of non-Czech peoples were for the time being ignored. The Slovak territory

had been so long included in Hungary and the Magayar Government there had done everything to keep the population in as depressed a condition as possible. The Slovaks were poor, ignorant and superstitious. The language which they spoke was akin to Czech but still different. Besides, it was prevented by systematic efforts by the Hungarian authorities from development. During the War there were two groups among Slovak exiles. One group believed in autonomy and might collaborate with the Czechs only in a federation, the other group saw little difference between Czechs and Slovaks and were enthusiastic about incorporation of Slovakia in a common unitary state. As for the Ruthenians, they were a body of absolutely backward people with hardly any political feeling and aspiration. If the Slovaks were far behind the Czechs in civilisation and culture, the Ruthenians were equally behind the Slovaks in every respect. The third discordant group was that of the Sudeten Germans of more than three millions, inhabiting the strategic frontier districts. The Sudeten mountains were an excellent boundary line and could not be abandoned without making impossible the protection of the new state against attack. If the districts in which the Sudeten Germans mostly lived, were to be excluded from Czechoslovakia, the strategic frontier would have to be given up as well. So the German element remained part and parcel of this state. Possibly, it would have been logical if the Czechoslovaks had demanded and the allies had agreed to the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans from the territory in which they might be a thorn on the side of the new state. But it had possibly sounded too heroic.

The state was organised on democratic and parliamentary lines largely on the model of France. In order, however, to avoid some of the defects which French Parliamentary Government had evinced, the President was endowed with greater power and authority than in France. Before 1917 the Czechs were mostly monarchist in ideas but the Russian Revolution had swept away monarchist feelings and the establishment of a Republic became possible. Faith in democracy was almost pathetic everywhere in post-war Europe and the Czechoslovaks were also determined to make it as perfect as possible. They introduced proportional representation both because without it representation could not be genuine and perfect and because without such representation the different racial minorities might be discontented. Voting was again

regarded both as a right and as a duty. It accordingly became compulsory and any voter neglecting his duty was subjected to a fine.

The adoption of proportional representation did not lead to the solution of the minority problem. If the new state was left to itself for thirty years more and the Government had opportunity of bringing up economic condition and cultural accomplishments to the same high level in every province, possibly a satisfactory adjustment could have been made and the problem solved. But such an opportunity was denied. The Sudeten Germans were at first sullen and bitterly opposed to the new condition of things. They had been ere long the dominant community with an unreasonable sense of superiority. They could not be easily reconciled to the altered conditions in which they could be treated only as equals. But by 1929 eighty per cent of them regarded their interests as bound up with the new state and acted accordingly. The whole body would have fallen in course of a few more years. But the Nazi Revolution in Germany became a new inspiration to separatism. In Slovakia a large majority became loyal to the unitary state and only a minority under the leadership of a priest called Hlinka pinned its faith to autonomy. It is very unlikely that without outside instigation and help Hlinka's party would have attained much success. But outside instigation and help were forthcoming in the later thirties to an abundant degree.

So even before the incorporation of Austria in Nazi Germany, Czechoslovakia was threatened with internal disruption. This incorporation turned the attention of Hitler's Government wholly towards Czechoslovakia. In May, 1938, his bluster proved ineffective. But he did not certainly give up the game. In the hour of crisis that now drew so near, England of Chamberlain acted as a candid friend. It took up an air of impartiality and sent down an emissary of high rank to hold the scales even between Czech integrity and German aggression. The Czech Government had still great confidence in the Western Powers. Masaryk's tradition was still living. He had looked to the West for inspiration, guidance and help. He was not only very justifiably suspicious of Czarist Russia but was equally opposed to communism and did not think much of the Soviet Union. So Benes and his colleagues came to depend only upon their western friends and accepted their mediation. In the crisis of September,

1938, they simply rejected the hand of fellowship offered by Kremlin. Chamberlain and Daladier were, however, themselves shaking in their shoes and were in no position to offer the right advice and undertake the right policy in regard to Masaryk's country. Without a fight it went down and today Benes, in exile, has to do it over again. Masaryk is no longer there to guide and help him but his loss is largely offset by his activities and achievements during the last War and after.

WHITHER INDIA

CYRIL MODAK

THE idea of progress is like one of those unfortunate waifs entertained by the most unexpected people. By and large, we are glad to be entertained by myths in gorgeous attire and lies in priestly vestments. If we are forced to play the host, we choose a mixed party of confused notions. Indeed, some are so awed by the alarming triumphs of materialism in both hemispheres that they would much rather crawl into Vedic times and try to keep India safe behind the fortification of Vedic texts. Others are so dazzled by the wonders of Western civilization that they would replace everything Indian with foreign imports. Some seek the formula for advancement by making imaginary excursions into Russian Communism or German Nazism. Others hail the *Carkha* as the sole instrument of progress. Some by virtue of their knighthoods or official postions feel that they are baptized into the British way of life which alone is progressive. Others think that India's march forward will begin only when she is free from the foreign yoke. A confusion of thought at a time of national crisis is disastrous. It renders a large number of people impotent. Hence, it is necessary to ask ourselves: What is progress? What sort of progress do we want?

Progress is both a fact and an illusion. The urge for progress has been the making and the ruin of civilization. There are those who see only fluctuations in the history of man and feel that these fluctuations cannot be regarded as progress. While there are some who hug the bland assurance typical of balmy Victorianism,

"Yet I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

The optimist's affirmation of progress is as superficial as the pessimist's denial. Progress cannot be thought of as an escalator, which, whether or not man run in addition to its lift, will inevitably raise humanity to a golden age. Nor can it be understood as a merry-go-round which gives the illusion of motion but leaves mankind just where it began.

It is a fact that humanity for the most part has moved forward from cave-dwellings to sky-scrapers, from the necessity of walking to the facility of flying, from the absence of all means of communications to the marvels of wireless, the radio, telegraph and telephone, in short, from primitive discomforts to the switch-board conveniences of this Cinematographic Age. But it is an illusion to conclude that this advancement is progress and that humanity is happier under the drone of the bomber that it was in the eerie silence of virgin forests. For, actually, it seems that as fast as man has conquered nature he has surrendered those inner resources which produced the heroes of the epic age. As he has succeeded in improving his material conditions of life he has succeeded also in degenerating physically and morally. As Science has raced along with seven-league boots human values have been left behind and there is to-day more widespread frustration, insecurity, unhappiness and insanity than even before.

The instruments of knowledge which should have brought heaven upon earth have been used increasingly for purposes of exploitation. The advancement of civilization which should have brought the blessings of maximum freedom, unity and peace has brought the curse of an albinocracy that keeps two-thirds of mankind in a state of emasculating servitude. The supposedly most civilized and progressive peoples shew by their paroxysms of vandalism that they are more barbaric than those whom they are pleased to call 'backward.' While the so-called 'backward' people who pride themselves on being more spiritually advanced lack the wisdom to cultivate the material conditions through which their spirituality could express itself realistically. The West like a soul-less body feeds the vultures of Capitalism. The East like a bodiless spirit is imprisoned in its own futility. From many a heart the painful question is wrung: whither mankind?

The Ancients were enamoured of the glittering procession of the gods and felt their highest good lay in being militant camp-followers. They paid just enough attention to their material environment as was necessary to keep them alive and happy and thus fit to serve the gods. The Moderns are dazed by the brilliant dawn of Science in which the pale procession of the gods has faded out of sight. They are eager to exploit their material environment as much as is necessary to give them mastery over other men. The Ancients forced ahead without having a theory of progress. The Moderns have theories of progress without the capacity to safeguard their advance. The religious out-

look of the Ancients was focussed on eternal values to the exclusion of physical needs. The scientific outlook of the Moderns is focussed on temporal values to the exclusion of right relations between man and man, and between man and machine. The difference between Ancients and Moderns in India, nevertheless, is far more difficult to analyse. In some things the Ancients were more modern than the best Moderns. In other things some prominent Moderns are third-rate copies of the best Ancients. We lack the nerve to be thorough-going Ancients. To be forthright Moderns we lack the material conditions. In our frenzied attempt to be modern we imitate the West. In the sorry confusion of a jingoism that is fast becoming fashionable we mistake hybridization for porgress.

Curiously enough, not a few reformers find their surest consolation harking back

> To the splendour that was 'Ind,
> To the glory that was Greece,
> And the grandeur that was Rome.

But apart from the reformer's zeal for the purity of byegone ages of the pedant's desire to impress by a show of comparative scholarship, it is convenient to trace ideas in a historical perspective. In ancient civilizations there are two representative trends of thought: the Indian and Jewish on the Asiatic side and the Greek and Roman on the European. The others are more or less permutations of one or other of these.

Plato's musings on history, characteristic of the Greek consciousness, influenced European thought almost up to the time of Hegel. According to Plato the course of cosmic life is divided into cycles each seventy-two thousand years in duration. During the first half of each cycle, when creation comes freshly from the hands of Deity, mankind is in a happy, ideal state. Then decline sets in. The latter half of each cycle sinks from bad to worse. Once more Deity must take it in hand and make all things new. Such a cyclic notion admits of no idea of progress. In fact, the Greeks were too suspicious of change to be able to conceive of progress as such. By their contemplative mode of consciousness they were fitted to be artists. To them the perfect was achieved in an ideal state, and, like the Parthenon, could not be improved. Any change that took place must mean subtraction from the ideally perfect. They could not think of time

holding out any possibilities of advancement. For them the passage of time took man farther away from the ideal state. Change was a sure sign of decline. Nothing save divine intervention could save mankind once the period of decline had set in. Many an Indian would perhaps want to hail the Greeks as first cousins.

The major premise of Greek thought may be expressed thus: The Good is that which does not change. *Becoming* is the antithesis of *Being* and *Being* not *Becoming* is the highest reality. The very idea of change is excluded from the essence of the divine. God does not act because action impiles reaction and the possibility of *becoming*. God is the eternally Changeless contemplating the eternally changeless. Thus, theory and practice become antithetical. The Greeks rejected practice and idealised the theoretical life. To this deal, they held, that human life could only approximate at best. Plato goes so far as to insist that the philosopher, who alone can rule, must desire above all things the life of contemplation. The *rishis* of old would have delighted Plato as rulers. But the necessities of the practical life are antagonistic to the ideal. The contemplative quest for the ideal must not be hampered by the contradictions of the practical life.

On the c ntrary, the Romans were not artists like the Greeks. Their pragmatic mode of consciousness enabled them to achieve feats of engineering and of legal and administrative constructions. They believed in change. They took a pride in building on the achievements of the past. They expected great things from the future. Seneca says, "The days will come when those things which now lie hidden, time and human diligence will bring to light." They had the intellectual and material conditions out of which a theory of progress could have been expected. Lucretius observes how by the development of agriculture and navigation, the building of cities and the establishment of laws, the manufacture of physical conveniences and the creations of artistic beauty man had risen, gradually advancing to his present height. The Romans understood the practical need for the maintenance and extension of power. But they could not comprehend the need to use power for creative human ends. They had the will-to-power divorced from the intention of spending power for the achievement of universal human progress. Thus the Romans lacked the insight to percieve and formulate the progressive purpose in the process of history as a whole. Changes

remained to them only fluctuations, which at best could be of advantage to extend their power.

It is significant that even the Stoics saw in history not a purposive advance but a recurrent rise and fall, so that all apparent change for good or ill was the tidal effect on an essentially unchanging sea. Marcus Aurelius says, "He who is forty years old, if he has any understanding at all, has, by virtue of the uniformity that prevails, seen all things which have been and all that will be." This note of satiety was expressed in an earlier age as "There is nothing new under the sun." Power introverted, turned in on its own greatness and success, inevitably brings such a mood. Without the techniques far fresh conquests of nature and without the intention to apply these for greater social effectiveness on an extra-national scale, an age that succeeds a period of great advancement is sure to be surfeited And from being surfeited it goes on to a period of decline. It is common to all people. And, if nothing else, this note of satiety proves the absence of a theory of progress which otherwise would give the impetus for further effort. Hence, as a rule, a period of surfeited decay follows on the heels of a progressive age.

II

Turning from the West to the East, we come upon a characteristically different phenomenon in India. The religio-contemplative consciousness of the Hindus delights in using religious terminology to express all its insights whether scientific or philosophical, esthetic or social. Through their astronomical and astrological studies of the stars, their psychological deductions regarding the conscious and unconscious mind, and their ethical reflections concerning the moral law, the ancient Indian *rishis* were persuaded that the principle of *Rita* (dialectical purpose) must be valid. They held that there must be an immanent purpose controlling and directing the universe from within through a series of unfoldment and accomplishment.

On the material as well as the moral plane this principle of *Rita* provides a key to the understanding of the evolutionary process. The three *gunas* (*rajas, tamas, sattva*) are not to be mistaken as static categories of the material world but as dynamic qualities of the universal process of evolution. *Tamas* can be understood not as mere inertness but the potentiality latent in the universe, the eternal

thesis inherent in matter. *Rajas* can be understood not as mere force leading to inevitable chaos but the urge for development at the heart of things, the eternal *antithesis* inherent in matter. *Sattva* can be understood not as static equilibrium but the informing nexus of order between the potentiality and the urge leading to endless *syntheses*. Thus the actual emerges from the potential, carrying within itself yet greater and more developed possibilities for further development. It is this kind of progress that is postulated by the principle of dialectical purpose If a theory of progress did not emerge from such excellent premises it was chiefly because a static interpretation threw the emphasis on the moral aspect.

The cosmic principle of *Rita* has its moral counterpart in the law of *Karma*. It postulates the individual's moral duty to co-operate with the immanent Purpose for the emergence of higher degree of actuality and for the conversion of the unreal into the real. Thus can order be brought into human life through conscious discipline. In its passage through the centuries the law of *Karma* has undergone unfortunate distortions and has come to be regarded as a mechanistic law of requittal, measure for measure, here and hereafter. Considered thus, it loses its vital challenge and meaning. *Karma* insists that any violation of the moral law must prove self-frustrating. Whereas collaboration with it must prove liberating. Man is not an end in himself. He is not the measure of all things. In a profound sense man is a means to a divine end. He must renounce the hedonistic ideal for the intention as self-realization. The process of self-realization is the process of progress. Thus the self was divorced from its material environment. By emphasis material advancement was divorced from moral and spiritual progress. We are still paying the penalty for that divorce.

When we turn to the Jewish people we find a very different but an exceedingly significant outlook. Whereas other people speak of Asoka having conquered a certain territory or Akbar having passed a certain law, the Jewish historian says, "God brought his people out of the land of Egypt." The religious consciousness of the Jews envisages history as the act of God. The intention of God, they believe, is the realization of his purpose for them, the Chosen People. Thus, without the metaphysical acumen of Vedantic thinkers or the practical skill of the Romans, the Jewish prophets, nonetheless, turned their reflection into an effort to discover the principles of

righteous social living. Their religious reflection became a continuous paraphrase of history and their historic experience became a progressive revelation of the nature and purpose of God. Their life was regulated by no complicated philosophical system or religious ritualism but by the Mosaic Law which is a formulation of right relations between man and man as a means of establishing right relations with God.

The Hebrew prophetic tradition does not discover an idea of progress as the development of Hebrew culture is not a development of ideas. But, as the history of the Jewish people itself becomes the working out of the implications of its consciousness of God's purpose, we find in it insights into the moral laws that govern progress. Not only loyalty to the true God, Yahwe, but the maintenance of justice, freedom and community among themselves determined their well-being in the sight of God and their prosperity in the sight of men. This, as they understood it, was God's will. If they lived by it, God would bless them and bring them to felicity. If they violated it they would suffer adversity and even bondage. The uniqueness of the Hebraic prophetic insight does not lie in the fact that it visualized material prosperity and advancement as a result of moral and religious integrity, but rather that it understood moral and religious integrity in terms of social justice. This is best illustrated in the Sabbatical system enunciated in the Mosaic Law, a system which has no parallel either in the Laws of Hamurabi or Manu. Prophet after prophet urged the need for repentance for social and racial sins so as to ensure that the nation would be happy and not come under God's judgment. (Unfortunately, Christianity lost this perspective during the rise of Capitalism in Europe.)

It may be observed in passing that it is this strong social sense driven deep into their racial consciousness which renders Jews more responsive to Communism than any other racial group. Not only was Karl Marx himself a Jew, but in almost every European country where the gospel of Marx spread it was chiefly due to the courageous missionaries and devoted champions that Marxism found among the Jews.

Vicissitudes of fortune are a characteristic of Jewish history. But, perhaps, the darkest period was during their Babylonian Captivity. All through these days of tribulation their prophets urged repentance and consoled them with the Messianic hope. Then came

the conquests of Roman Imperialism. The Hebrew prophets did not weary in proclaiming that the Messiah would come suddenly and save them, defeat their enemies and establish the "Kingdom of God," in which the Chosen People would be happy for ever more. Of course, this expectation was not, as under the circumstances it could not be, a progressive hope. It was an expectation of cataclysmic triumph. It did not envisage the prospect of planful work over a long period achieving success and the furtherance of personal, social and national interests It was, rather, the hope of a divine invasion of history.

When Jesus began his propaganda tours in the first century A.D. the Messianic expectation grew into a defiant belief and robed itself with increasing pomp. The early Christians inherited this glorious belief in God's coming sovereignty over the whole earth which would mean the consummation of all human desires for progress, prosperity and happiness. It took two centuries for this hope to grow dim. Hope deferred makes the heart sick. When the heart is sick men accept substitutes with some alacrity. Moving out from its days of political persecution to a period of political favour, the Christian Church began to allure men's hearts with its inviting prospects of power and wealth. It did not take long for the expanding, flourishing Church on earth to become the centre of gravity for Christians in place of the tardy "Kingdom of Heaven."

The Church could not evolve an idea of progress although the Christ-impluse was radically progressive. The Church's intellectual life was entangled in its attempts to stabilize the truth already formulated by the Early Church, to fight all heresy, and to punish any adventurous search for new truth. Indeed, the growing economic complications of the Church and its insistence on the rewards to be bestowed in Heaven tended to confirm rather than dissipate the static notion of history. This life, it was taught, was only a brief probation. Suffering here would mean joy Hereafter. Success here would mean an eternity of tears. Progress was a snare. All that was required to gain a passport to Heaven was submission to the Church and a life of prayer. The theocratic dictatorship was every whit as rigorous as the Fascist, Nazi or Communist. This rigorous theocratic dictatorship was naturally inherited by the Missionary Movement. The atrocities of "the purge" in Germany, Russia or Italy, which have horrified the world, are at least matched by the atrocities of the

Inquisition which was "the purge" carried out by the Church. European thought was thus made stagnant.

From the twelfth century A.D. to the sixteenth the analogy used by European thinkers to describe society is the same. It is nothing but an adaptation of the orthodox Pauline metaphor used to describe the Church. Society like the human body is an organism composed of different members. Each member has his own functions: prayer, defence, trade or agriculture, or service, very similar to the functions of the Hindu caste system. Each must receive the means suited to its station and claim no more. *Within* each class there must be strict equality. For if one appropriates the living of two some one will go short. But *between* the classes there must be judicious inequality. Otherwise a class cannot perform its duty or enjoy its rights. And both duties and rights are God-given. Under the dictatorship of the Church the gross facts of the social order were accepted with surprising docility by the Europe of the Middle Ages. Of course, the Church held out palliatives. It organized charity, education and humanitarian relief. But behind this facade of benevolence and religious sanction its policy was one of protection and repression—protection of the un-Christian *status quo* and repression of the Christian status-to-be. Tawney puts it into an unforgettable sentence. "Baptized by the Church, privilege and power became office and duty." It is the same today.

The rise of modern progressive hopes out of the quagmire of the Dark Ages is one of the epic occurrences of history. One's faith in the progressive destiny of the world is renewed when one considers how almost by a miracle Europe stepped out of a chronic invalid's bed and astonished the world with feats of progress. The causes which together worked this miracle are now, after three centuries, too complexly interwoven to be unravelled except in a historian's library. One can only trace some of the major factors which contributed to the conversion of a paralysed Europe into a militant Palladin of progress.

Scientific advancement is by far the most important of these factors. With the furtherance of science men began to throw off their intellectual vassalage to antiquity and to religious institutionalism. Without such an intellectual release no country can move forward. The new-found possibility of mastering the hidden resources of nature filled men with stimulating confidence and eager energy.

Science challenged authoritarianism. It forged new techniques. It shattered old superstitions. It gave Europe the *mantra*: Be free! India needs this scientific attitude on a larger scale so that the average Indian breaks loose from his thraldom to the past and to religious or social fetishes.

World wide exploration contributed materially to the development of the modern outlook. Who could live couped up in a stale, narrow world when the old frontiers were crumbling and new continents beckoned with glamorous prospects of experiment and adventure? Who could come in contact with new peoples and unheard-of civilizations and discover strange products without being stirred to rebel against time-honoured prejudices? Travel abroad would provide the broadening and inspiring influence that we need to lead the country forward through political and economic barricades to the path of progress.

Closely allied with these two elements was the Copernican revolution. When the Copernican theory was proved the credit and authority of antiquity received a stunning blow. Men were disillusioned. They awoke to the fact that in their quest for knowledge they would have to turn not backward to the past, as hitherto, but forward to the future, not backward to sacrosanct texts but forward to new discoveries. The Medieval Age was buried under its own debris. A new age arrived. It was aglow with excitement. It brought new inventions, new discoveries, new knowledge. New social and economic possibilities opened before men's eyes. New ventures became possible. Progress became the watchword. And Europe has not paused even for a decade since then.

THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

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"ALL power to the Soviets, land to the peasants, bread to the starving, and peace to all men"—this was the memorable slogan with which Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia on November 7, 1917. Immediately after the formation of the Soviet government, the Congress of workers' and peasants' deputies heard a report from Lenin and passed the famous decree on peace addressed to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries. This appeal to the world's conscience was, of course, rejected by all the imperialist powers. The same night (November 8), the decree on land turned over to the peasantry over 400 million acres of land which had formerly belonged to the landlords, the bourgeoisie, the Tsar's family, the monasteries and the churches. Peasants were unconditionally released from the obligation of paying rents to landlords of any description. All mineral resources, forests and waters became the property of the people. A Council of People's Commissars, with Lenin at its head, was set up to carry on the administration.

In "ten days that shook the world," to quote John Reed's celebrated characterisation, the most far-reaching revolution in human history was ushered into being. It shook the thrones of princes and prelates. It shook the complacency of the bourgeoisie. To their utter chagrin and consternation the lords of humankind saw power, which they knew to be their monopoly, being grasped with resolute courage by those whom they had always called the scum of the earth. The lower orders, whose only function in life was to obey the orders of their superiors, had now come forward to build the new society in their own fashion and to maintain it against all comers. It was, to the rulers, an intolerable situation, and so for years and years they tried to throttle the infant Soviet State.

Russia was the focus—as Stalin put it—of all the contradictions of imperialism. "Tsarist Russia was the home of oppression of every kind—capitalist and colonial and militarist—of oppression in its most barbarous form. Here the omnipotence of capital was merged with the despotism of Tsarism, aggressive Russian nationalism with the

rule of the Tsarist hangman over non-Russian peoples, the economic exploitation of whole regions of Turkey, Persia and China with the Tsarist military conquest of those regions." (*Foundations of Leninism*, p. 13.) Those who have wondered why revolution broke out in Russia first of all, and not in countries where industry is most perfected, where the proletariat forms the majority, will see light in Stalin's formulation of Leninism that the front of capital will not necessarily be pierced first in the most advanced country, but that it will be broken where the chain of imperialism is weakest, and where there is a party tried and steeled in work, ready and able to drag victory by the hand.

The revolution was put to the severest tests, but emerged every time with flying colours. The Bolsheviks had turned over a country ruined by the war, with its lopsided industries destroyed, and its always backward agriculture in chaos. They were to have no respite, for when they had freed themselves from war with Germany by the dearly-bought peace of Brest-Litovsk, they had to face Intervention and Civil War, when almost every capitalist power invaded their territory and armed and subsidised counter-revolutionary rebels. Socialist determination, however, was of a quality unprecedented in history. Inspite of gleeful prophecies of imminent downfall, the Soviets lived on. The Bolsheviks adjured their people that it was not enough only to exist as a beggarly state. So Lenin told them, " War is implacable ; it puts the question with merciless sharpness: either perish or overtake the advanced countries and surpass them also *economically* ; either full steam ahead or perish. This is how history has put the question." So there followed the Soviet's economic offensive, illustrated in the Five Year Plans and the collectivisation of agriculture—an offensive which amazed an incredulous and increasingly restless world, an offensive whose results are seen today in the never-to-be-forgotten resistance of the Soviets to the colossal military machine of Hitler-Europe.

The entire capitalist world has sought, till lately, to cordon off the Soviet Union from the rest of civilisation. With devilish persistence, the ruling classes have tried to keep down the Soviets. Their methods have been intervention, open as well as veiled, propaganda of the vilest sort, and the repeated payment of Danegeld to the Fascists in the shape of recurring appeasement, with a view to bringing about a war of all the world on the Soviet Union. Their plans have

been foiled by the growing friendship of the people in every country for the land of the Soviets, and the sheer ability with which Soviet leaders have shaped their military, economic and diplomatic policy.

Today the world hails the Soviet Union as the vanguard of progress. Today it is no longer possible to withhold from the people the knowledge that the Soviets have built not only a mighty state but a new civilisation. For us, in particular, it is wonderful to know of the Soviets' "nationalities policy," which has won a glory that no scoffing can fade; the Tsarist "prison of the nations" is in the process of becoming the peoples' paradise. For us, in particular, it is wonderful to know that the despised and the disinherited have in them the spirit that moves mountains, the spirit that waits to be kindled in our own country.

The November Revolution has, in the eventful years since 1917, transformed Russia, which had been a "peasant continent" with a partially developed industry, into the foremost industrial country in Europe, and the second most powerful country in the world. The contrast with India, which continues to be kept in "planned backwardness," is vivid indeed. It becomes even more vivid when one compares with India any one of the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union, which were twenty years ago far more backward than India today. The pace of development there and its new, socialist quality must be an eye-opener.

Let us take as an example one of these republics—Tajikistan, which lies within a few miles of India. The Tajiks were under the double autocracy of the Tsarist government and of the feudal-theocratic rule of the Emir of Bokhara. Suffering was the badge of their tribe, and even after the Revolution, civil wars continued to be the curse of the land till 1925. It was in that year that Tajikistan became an autonomous republic, and in 1929 it entered the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an independent federated republic.

In India in 1911, 6 per cent. of the people are reported to have been literate. In Tajikistan, before the Revolution, only one-half of 1 per cent. of the population could read and write. In 1931, the Indian figure of literacy was 8 per cent., while by 1933, 60 per cent. were literate in Tajikistan. There were only a hundred Tajik students at school in 1914; the figure in 1939 was 328,000. By 1936, the Republic had one school per 500 of the population, five higher educational institutions and over thirty technical schools. The rate of

progress has been soaring since, except for whatever hindrances the present war has imposed on Soviet planning.

Tajiks have adopted the collective method of cultivation, while we rely still on the methods of the Bronze Age. Ploughing, sowing, etc., are usually done by tractors. The central government of the Soviet Union have granted heavy sums for developing the great cotton area of Tajikistan by the most intensive system of irrigation. In 1929, Tajikistan spent 3 million roubles on irrigation; in 1930, 12 million roubles, and the budget for 1931 was 61 million, *i.e.*, 50 roubles per inhabitant. Nobody thought of taxing the Tajiks to raise this enormous sum; Moscow came willingly to the help of a sister-republic in need. (*Cf.* Joshua Kunitz, *Dawn over Samarkand*, 1935, for details.)

In India, irrigation develops, if at all, slowly and stingily. The old irrigation works have been callously neglected by Government and have fallen into disrepair. The new irrigation work has been conducted on a very limited scale; the total irrigated area was 46·8 million acres in 1913 14, and rose only to 50·5 million twenty years later. It has also been carried out on the basis of capital investment demanding a high rate of return, which means heavy burdens on an already overburdened peasantry.

India remains the " agrarian hinterland " of imperialism. Indian industry has been allowed most grudgingly to develop to its present feeble stature. Under the Tsars, industry was concentrated in the " metropolitan " areas of Russia, while Tajiks, like Indians, were hewers of wood and drawers of water, condemned for generations to the idiocy of rural life, to the monotony of backward agriculture. Till the Revolution, Tajikistan had no industries. Today it has preserving factories and silk factories; textile works are a feature of Stalinabad and a big silk combine of Leninabad. Electric power-stations are humming with activity; cement. brick, oil, printing industries are flourishing. And Soviet geologists have been unceasingly at work, trying to discover wealth for the people stowed away underground in neglected areas.

The progress in public health is phenomenal. In 1914, there were just thirteen doctors in Tajikistan; they would, of course, be called upon to cater only to the needs of the feudal aristocracy. In 1939, there were 440 doctors, ready for service in every home. In 1914, there were no maternity beds in the abysmally ill-equipped hospitals; in 1937, there were 240. In 1914, there was no such thing asa mater-

nity and infant welfare centre; twenty-three years later there were thirty-six.

Look at this picture and that—is the comment that comes to one's mind, when contrasting the Soviet health protection system and ours. The death-rate in Tsarist Russia in 1913 was 28.3 per thousand; the corresponding Indian figure was 30. As early as 1926, that is to say, barely as soon as the Soviets had recovered from the effects of Civil War and Intervention and famine that blockade brought about, the death-rate in the Soviet Union had been brought down to 20.9, while that in India for the same year was still 26.7. In Moscow, the death-rate in 1913 was 23.1 per thousand, and in 1926, 13.4. In Bombay, the death-rate in 1914 was 32.7, and in 1926, 27.6. Figures such as these can be indefinitely multiplied.

The records of deaths from smallpox afford a very instructive comparison. In 1914, there were 76,950 recorded deaths from smallpox in India, or 3.2 per ten thousand of the population; in 1934, there were 83,925 deaths, or 3 per ten thousand of the population. The Soviet figures show that there the incidence of smallpox has been reduced from 4.7 per ten thousand in 1913 to 0.37 in 1929.

The picture of the rapid advance of the Soviet Union, and most notably of its Central Asian Republics, must give cause for furious thought to our people. Imperialism means exploitation and stagnation; it saps the vitality of peoples. The comparison of its bleak record with the record of the peoples' unassisted achievement in the Soviet Union gives us a bitter picture, no doubt, but also a picture which holds out hope and confidence for the future. If the Soviet peoples have won their way to freedom and light, why can't we ?

It is only right that in November we shall remember and salute the great Revolution which shook the world in 1917. It is natural for our thoughts to be centred on the Soviet Union when it is leading the peoples of the world in the fight against the barbaric obscenity called Fascism. And today we may well recall the words of Romain Rolland, uttered long before the present war broke out, "When the U. S. S. R. made it possible for me to become convinced that the great social ideal can be realised, I could have wept for joy if my old eyes had not become unaccustomed to tears. I know that the U. S. S. R. is the most reliable guarantee of social progress, that the happiness of mankind is under its guard, that it is our living fortress. And, therefore, I say: The Defence of the U. S. S. R. or death!"

WHAT ABOUT FRANCE ?

RECENT events in French North Africa have made confusion worse confounded as to the attitude and policy of Vichy France. It has become a fashion in certain circles to depict Marshal Petain and his colleagues as willing tools in the hands of Hitler. The British public was of course very naturally furious when the French Government refused after the debacle of 1940 to remove itself to Africa and continue to fight Germany as the ally of Britain with its fleet which was intact and with its other remaining military resources. Instead an armistice was signed and France went out of the war leaving her ally in the lurch. This policy created a revulsion of feeling in Britain, which has not only not been effaced since then but has been strengthened to some degree by subsequent events.

But this does not mean that all Britishers are positively hostile towards the Vichy Government. There are many of them who think that although the refusal of the French Government to remove itself to Africa in 1940 might not have been wise, its subsequent conduct does not justify our hostility towards it. It might not have succeeded in withstanding all German demands upon France, but still it must not be regarded as positively pro-German and as a willing tool of Hitler. The Liberal English periodical, *The Contemporary Review*, has made systematic efforts to understand the Vichy Government and explain its position and policy with great candour. Its contributor on Foreign Affairs, George Glasgow, has referred more than once to the fact that French prisoners in German camps exceeded two millions and even after release of batches of them the number in German hands last summer was one million and a half. There was hardly a family in France which had not one or more members in a German prison. When the armistice was signed, there was no provision in it for the early release of these prisoners. Possibly the French Government then thought that the continuation of the war was only a matter of weeks and on that account made no stipulation as to the release of these prisoners by a specified time. But as it stood, these prisoners became excellent trump card in the hands of the Nazi Government. In order to secure the release of even a small batch of them the Vichy authorities would be required from time to make conce-sions to Germany. The prisoners were treated with so much cruelty and kept in conditions so horrifying that the French public would be eager to secure their release at all costs. This is certainly the main reason for

any important concessions tha have been made to Germany since the armistice by the Vichy Government.

But notwithstanding this, the main policy of Marshal Petain and his colleagues appears to be to maintain the identity of France in these difficult times and look after her interests as far as practicable. They are not either pro-German or pro-British. They are only pro-French. In the June number of the Review which has been referred to above, a writer, Dr. David Thomson, contributed a special article on the Laval Experiment. In this paper he insists that what the Vichy Government is aiming at is only the survival of France. He refers to the details of escape of General Henri Giraud from the prison camp at Dresden and points out that the way he was treated in Vichy suggests at once the unwillingness of Marshal Petain and even of Laval to subserve German interests wherever possible. "On April 25th the Germans broadcast a description of him (Giraud), threatened to execute anyone who helped him to escape and offered a reward equivalent to £8,000 for his recapture. But he safely smuggled himself through Switzerland to France, and in a few days was reported to be taking part in Franco-German conversations at Moulins, on the very borders of occupied territory. Laval put no restrictions on his movements, and made no attempt to return him to the Germans, although his presence could scarcely be other than an embarrassment to Vichy in its delicate negotiations with Germany. By May 9th it was announced that he had given pledge to Marshal Petain not to support General de Gaulle, but had refused to promise never to take up arms against the Germans."

Since this free movement of Giraud in unoccupied France in May last, we did not hear of him for months. Neither any news-agency sent us anything as to his whereabouts, nor was any literature available from abroad to give us information as to his activities. Then all on a sudden we find him emerging in North Africa as a collaborator of American forces. What does this signify ? The very fact that he has found it possible to leave France and come over to Africa with the definite purpose of co-operating with United States' Forces is an indication of Vichy's pro-Allies policy.

In this connection it is important to refer to De Gaulle and his group. He was a Colonel in the French army and officiated as a General. A brilliant soldier but associated with reactionary and even Fascist-minded groups, De Gaulle was not *persona grata* with the French Government. Nor was his subsequent movement in England anyway acceptable to Vichy authorities. In fact when he, as an exile in Great Britain, started the Free French Movement, his activities became positively distasteful to Marshal Petain and his colleagues. The Free French Movement in England signified that the French in France were not only not free but the Government at Vichy was not also working for achieving French freedom.

A movement which signified this could not but be unacceptable to the Vichy Government. Its author became also on that account anathema to Petain and his co-adjutors. It should also be borne in mind that the American Government which continnued to have diplomatic relations with Vichy refused to recognise the Free French movement. What with American pressure and what with other factors and causes, the British Government also, which recognised and boosted this movement, could not be persuaded to recognise De Gaulle as the head of a French Government in exile. There were Polish, Norwegian and Chechoslovak Governments in London recognised by His Majesty's Government. But De Gaulle was recognised only as the head of a movement. This was certainly galling to him but more was to come. Gradually a group of Britishers became restive as to the position De Gaulle occupied. What was more, the American Government put pressure upon British authorities and persuaded them to change the name of De Gaulle's movement. It ceased to be known any longer as Free French and henceforward came to be called *Fighting France*.

America in fact became convinced that Vichy was not as hostile to the Allied cause as it was represented to be and that there was no sense in exasperating Vichy by boosting the Free French movement of De Gaulle. Washington was possibly convinced also that the collaboration of the French people in allied efforts could be brought about not by De Gaulle as by men in and around Vichy.

This explains why General Eisenhower is counting on the active co-operation of such men as Giraud and Darlan and why De Gaulle has not given his blessings to Franco-American collaboration in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

It is of course still difficult to say as to what relations subsist between Petain and Darlan. But situated as France is, such confusion would not possibly be removed before final peace is achieved. There has been frequent reference to the French fleet in this connection. But so far as the portion of the fleet at Toulon is concerned, the position is easy to understand. The fleet is the last trump card in the hands of France. It can not be let go for a song. Nor is the Vichy Government, which is out to maintain the identity of France, willing to hand it over to either side. At Toulon its position appears be secure. If the German army approaches the port which it has so far significantly avoided, it is very likely that the ships will either fight or raise anchor. In either case it would be displeasing to the Germans. So it is likely that the fleet will remain where it is.

We may conclude by repeating that Vichy is pro-Ally where possible and when desirable from the French National point of view and pro-German when there is no alternative.

Round The World

American Elections :

On the third November last elections to the House of Representatives, the Senate and State Governorships were held in the United States. The House, the lower chamber of the Congress, is constituted every two years. The short tenure was decided upon as a concession to the Democrats in the late eighteenth century, when it was held in their circles that longer was the tenure of office of the legislators, the less free would the people be. The English nation, it was glibly assumed, was free only once in seven years. It would have been better in the opinion of these democrats if the legislature was elected only for one year. In fact annual parliament was the popular slogan. The fathers of the American constitution could not go as far as that. But they also could not provide for a tenure longer than two years for the House of Representatives, when especially they were providing for a tenure of six years for the Senators. Times have considerably changed since 1787-88. There is no longer much confidence even in radical circles in short tenure of office for legislators. But the United States Constitution is hard to amend and there is not sufficient public opinion against the House being elected every two years. So this chamber, elected in November, 1940, had to give place to a new house returned last month. The Senate is a continuous body of ninety-six members who are elected for a period of six years. But one-third of them retires every two years. So along with the elections to the House of Representatives thirty-two Senators are also elected. Although every State, large or small, returns two Senators, they are not elected at the same time. The result is that one whole state with all its voters becomes a constituency for election to one senatorial seat. The State Governors have their tenures fixed by the State Constitutions and they differ from State to State. There is a tendency now towards a longer term for them. In the State of New York, for instance, the Governor is now elected for a period of four years, while in many States he has only half that period allotted to him.

Recent elections have gone definitely against the Democrats although they still maintain a majority in both in the chambers of the Congress. In the House of Representatives the former held out of 435 seats as many as 268 as a result of the elections of 1940 while the Republicans had only 162, the remaining seats being held by the Progressives and Labour. The last election has, however, reduced the Democratic majority to a very narrow margin. Today the Democratic Party has only 220 members and the Republican Party 208, the remaining seven seats being held by Independents. In the Senate also Democratic majority has been correspondingly reduced. In 1940 Democrats were 66, Republicans 28 and others two. At present Democrats are 57, Republicans 38 and as to one seat news is not definite. As for the State Governorships, the majority of them, filled in the recent election, have gone to the Republicans including that of the Empire State (New York). Dewey who had been a vigorous District Attorney in New York and who figured so very prominently in the last Presidential election has won this important office on behalf of the Republican Party.

There has been questioning in the public mind in many countries as to the significance of the Republican successes. Many of those who look at things only from the standpoint of the present War appear rather to be pessimistic about the defeats sustained by Roosevelt's Party. But it should be known that this War is not a Party affair in the United States. It cannot be said at all that the Democrats are identified with its efficient conduct and the Republicans are its opponents. Views in respect of it really cut across party lines. Before the Americans were forced into the struggle by the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbour, there were many Democrats who were against American intervention and promoted in every way possible the isolationist standpoint. There were again many Republicans who were out and out pro-Allies and demanded American participation in the War against the Axis Powers as a full and active partner. Walter Lippmann, the famous American columnist, once pointed out in one of his columns that the people of the coastal States who feared enemy attacks were for active alliance with Great Britain while the people of the landlocked States who did not fear any such attack were as a rule isolationist. This analysis was not accurate either in detail or in principle. But there was this element of truth in it that attitude towards War was not determined by party allegiance. So Republican successes need not alarm the War enthusiasts in the least. They would not influence American war efforts at all.

In respect of political views and social policy also, the two parties as parties cannot be said to be fundamentally opposed. Generally it is taken for granted in many circles that Democratic Party stands for the common man, for the down and out while the Republican Party champions the cause of high finance, of big business, of the vested interests of the country. To make such a distinction between the two parties is to misread the political platform in the United States. This misreading has been largely stimulated by Roosevelt's New Deal. While this Democratic President with the support and co-operation of a Democratic legislature introduced a number of social legislations and ministered to the welfare of the unemployed, the aged, the blind and the needy, these measures were opposed tooth nail by the Republican magnates. Actually it should be known that even in respect of the New Deal, opinions cut across party divisions. There were many Democrats who were the bitterest opponents of it and there were many among the Republicans who supported enthusiastically the New Deal legislations.

Democratic Party is not everywhere the champion of the common man. In the Southern States for instance white men are by tradition Democrats because the Republican Party stood in the last century against slavery and against secession. While, however, they are largely chained to the Democratic Party machine, they interpret the party platform in their own way. In the same manner the Republican Party also has a progressive wing which entertains views not very complimentary to big business and high finance. In the early years of this century, for instance, Theodore Roosevelt a great Republican, was as much an enemy of trusts and monopoly as the greatest of Democrats. His *New Nationalism* was as progressive as the *New Freedom* of Wilson. It is true that when he stood for the third time as a presidential candidate and the Republican party refused to entertain his candidature, he broke away from it with his followers and founded the Progressive Party. This Party or rather group has maintained its identity ever since and has run candidates in all elections. But for many years its stronghold was the State of

Wisconsin in which the elder LaFollette, a friend of Roosevelt, set up a *progressive* tradition which remained active after his death. His two sons, Philip and Robert, have been pillars of this party. The former who had been Governor of his State on *progressive* ticket lost the election in 1938. The latter who was United States Senator on the same ticket withstood many storms but possibly has gone down in the recent election. But this slow death of the Progressive Party does not mean the extinction of *progressive* views but their absorption again in the Republican Party. Republicans outside *progressive* influence also are not in all cases reactionary. It is impossible to believe that a man like Dewey, elected recently as the Governor of the New York State, would make himself a mere tool of Wall Street. He is not only the sworn enemy of Tammany but he is equally a sworn enemy of all shady transactions attaching to privilege.

Relations With Soviet Russia :

Some time ago the "Manchester Guardian" emphasised the importance of doing everything "to create full confidence between Britain and Russia." It was of the view that there were still people in Great Britain, who were smarting under a sense of wrong done by the Soviet Union to the Allies in the first stage of the present War. It had damaged allied interests by entering into friendly relations with Germany. But the journal points out that this Non-Aggression Pact between Russia and Germany should no longer be an impediment to real understanding between Whitehall and the Kremlin. If Stalin came to an understanding with Hitler in 1939 to the detriment of allied interests, Chamberlain had done the same thing in 1938 to the humiliation and isolation of Soviet Russia. In March of that year the Foreign Office in Moscow suggested a discussion with the Western Powers for maintaining European peace and nipping German aggression in the bud. But Chamberlain rejected the suggestion. He would have nothing to do with such collective discussion. Then when Czechoslovakia was threatened in September, 1938, Russia immediately offered resistance if the Government of Benes agreed to resist the aggressor. But Chamberlain's Government not only would not fight Germany on behalf of the threatened state in collaboration with Russian authorities but what was more, it dissuaded the Government of Benes also from resisting with Russian help. Chamberlain who had always regretted the entry of Russia into the League of Nations now found an opportunity of isolating her completely. At Munich Russia was not invited to participate in the deliberations on the fate of Czechoslovakia. In view of this treatment meted out to the Soviet Government, it was not very unnatural that the latter would seek safety for the time being in the embrace of Germany. Chamberlain had tried his best to divert German attention towards the East and Stalin turned the table and diverted by his Pact the attention of Germany towards the West. So if there was fault, it was on both sides, and was not to be kept in mind when both Russia and Britain were fighting the same enemy for one year and a half. Suspicion should have given place to enthusiastic camaraderie long ago. But the "Manchester Guardian" observes, it still persists. That it still persists is evidenced to a great extent by the policy of the British Government in India. With the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Germany the ban on the Communist Party in this country might have been removed. But it was not officially so removed until one year later. It really continued until a formal alliance was established between Britain and Soviet Russia in

the middle of the present year. Then again we find that while the Government of India has established agencies at Washington and Chungking and welcomed agencies in New Delhi from China and United States, no such interchange of agencies has been permitted to take place between India and Soviet Union. We have also noticed that very little facility has been given by the Government to efforts which Soviet Friends have made for the last few months for sending a mission to Moscow. If these are indications of anything, they are the indications of the fact that full and complete understanding may not have been reached yet between His Majesty's Government and the authorities at the Kremlin. This is regrettable. We notice of course that the Commonwealth Government of Australia is interchanging diplomatic agencies with Russia. India should follow suit.

Pacific Institute Conference :

The Institute of Pacific Relations is a wholly non-official organisation with its headquarters at New York City. Its function is to study and discuss both economic and political problems of all countries directly or indirectly connected with the Pacific Zone. To this end the Institute maintains an elaborate secretariat and runs a journal. The governing body consists of representatives of countries which are either themselves in the Pacific Zone or are interested in it. It should be known that although the Institute is a non-official body, it has made itself by its activities greatly influential.

India is not technically a Pacific Power. Nor has this country any territorial possession in the Pacific Zone. But if Britain, by virtue of her possession of Honkong and her trade interests in the Far East, could become a member of the Institute, India also, situated not far from the Pacific World and with cultural and economic interests there, might fittingly be associated with this body. But any suggestion regarding India's accession to the Institute has been so far rejected unceremoniously by Britain. The ostensible ground has of course been cited already, but the actual reason was that Britain has never liked India's membership of an influential body like the Pacific Institute.

The Conference of the Institute will be held in December next in the province of Quebec. India not being a member was not expected to be represented in the Conference. But all on a sudden it was not only announced in the latter half of October last that India was going to be represented in this Conference but what was more the names of Indian delegates were also published. Before dealing with the personnel, we may consider the method adopted in the choice of the delegates. The Pacific Institute and its Conference being non-official bodies, it would not have been acceptable if the Government of India chose the representatives. In Australia and Canada the Institutes of International Affairs are sister organisations and as such usually nominate the delegates. On that model the Indian Institute of International Affairs also might have been entrusted with this task. This Institute was started a few years ago under Viceregal patronage at New Delhi as a branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which has its headquarters at Chatham House, London. From the nature of its origin it may be concluded at once that this body at the Indian capital is largely an official organisation. But as it has some independent Indian public men also associated with it, even this body was not allowed to choose the Indian delegates to the Pacific Institute Conference.

It is understood that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who had been the chairman of the Institute until recently but who, it may be emphasised, has ceased to occupy that position, was entrusted with the selection of the delegates. People may naturally conclude that there was only one reason for ignoring the Council of the Institute of International Affairs and adopting this extraordinary procedure and that reason was to see to the choice of only those men who might be very safe from the Government standpoint. The leader of the delegation will be Sir Ramaswami himself, who is a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and is at present in London as Government of India's representative in the War Cabinet. The second delegate is Sir Muhammad Jafrulla Khan, who had been a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, an Agent of the Government of India at Chungking and is a judge of the Federal Court. The third delegate is a Minister of the State of Bikaner. So on and so forth. One does not find in the list of seven men chosen as delegates one single name which can inspire popular confidence and has even the semblance of a right to speak on behalf of the Indian people. The Council of the Institute of International Affairs has on it such persons as Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru who is the President of the Servants of India Society, ex-President of the Liberal Federation and a member of the Council of State. Why could not he be chosen as one of the delegates? Why could not again a prominent educationist like Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan be included in their list?

Government of India's Agent at Chunking :

Sir Jafrulla Khan took leave from the Federal Court of which he is a judge and spent a few months at Chungking as the Agent of the Government of India. He is now back at New Delhi and by the time these lines will be in print, he will possibly be on his way to the new World so that he may lecture in the U.S.A. and then attend the Pacific Institute Conference in Canada. In view of these it is not known when he will find it possible to go back to the Chinese capital or if he is likely to go back there at all. The post of Agent at Chungking is, however, too important to remain vacant for long. It is certainly an essential medium through which good political as well as social relations may be established between the two neighbouring countries of India and China. An Indian public man with both cultural and political interests may be easily found for appointment to this office.

The Viceroy and the Executive Council :

In the last issue of this journal we discussed in some detail the relations between the Governor-General and his Executive Council. If we revert to this subject, it is because of a statement made by Lord Simon in the House of Lords. " The present Government is essentially a Government of the Viceroy with his advisers and the Viceroy is answerable to the Secretary of State and the Government here," he said. This is an observation which is fundamentally inconsistent with the provision of law under which the government is vested in the Governor-General in Council. The government is not that of the Viceroy but it is vested in the Council at the head of which the Governor-General is to sit. Nor are the members of the Executive Council his advisers. They are his colleagues, as they together constitute the Government. It is true that for the safety, tranquillity, and good government of this country the Governor-General may override the

decision of the majority of his Council and initiate a line of action of his own. But even then the action he takes in such exceptional circumstances is to be regarded as the action not of himself but of the whole Council.

Why in the face of this legal provision had Viscount Simon then made this observation? He is not only the Lord Chancellor and as such the highest judicial functionary in Britain but he came out to this country at the head of the Commission that bears his name and spent the greater part of two years in the investigation of constitutional problems. He is quite abreast of law and is well acquainted with governmental forms and traditions in India. Why then, we may ask again, he made this statement. In Great Britain the constitution is flexible and may be changed gradually by convention. In India it has been so far hidebound by written documents. But the course of old constitutional development in this country was altered very rudely by the Act of 1935. Up till then the executive was collegiate. It was vested in a body, not in an individual. The Act of 1935 vested it in an individual, in the Governor so far as the province was concerned and in the Governor-General in respect of federal powers. There would be a Council of Ministers but legally it would only aid and advise. Besides, there would be a long list of special responsibilities which the Governor or the Governor-General as the case might be, would exercise in his individual judgment. The provincial portion of this Act has been in operation for the last five years and more, and under it the Governors have found themselves, particularly in war time, in a position of great authority and power. Even in the old days when the government was vested in the Governor in Council, his position was one of less power.

If the federal portion of the Act had been applied in 1939 as it was scheduled to be, the Governor-General also would have been invested with similar authority. Perhaps this is an understatement. He might have been endowed with greater authority still. In respect of defence and external affairs he would not have been required even to consult the Council of Ministers. Unfortunately for one reason or another the federal portion had not been applied. But could not by convention the Governor-General be given this individual power and authority even in the present arrangement of things? Possibly by practice he might reduce the status of his Council and make it only advisory. Possibly great personages from time to time may make statements and observations such as the one Lord Simon has made to sanctify the practice. These observations may be apparently casual but really deliberate. In any event it is easy to understand as to what is at the back of official mind. The Members of the Executive Council are certainly abreast of it.

New Viceroy?

Lord Linlithgow was appointed Viceroy in 1936 and if times were normal, he would have retired in 1941. But because of the exigencies of war, his term was extended and by April next he will complete his seven years as Viceroy. This extension of his term was unwise. People in Whitehall knew full well that the war was going to be a prolonged affair and it was not to be finished either by 1942 or by 1943. In view of this if Lord Linlithgow was not to serve at the head of the Government of India during the entire period of the war there was no sense in his being given extensions. Sooner or later a new Viceroy would have to be appointed and that in the midst of the war. A new arrangement might, therefore, have been made in 1941. It was as early as the 18th century that decision had

been taken to the effect that the head of the Government would not be chosen from among civil servants. One of the reasons advanced in this connection was that such civil servants had already acquired certain views both in respect of administrative policy and in respect of men and things in this country. As the head of the Government they would find it difficult to depart from these views and would have no freshness of mind to bring to bear upon the enunciation of policy. The same reason militates against the continuation of a public man also in the office of the Governor-General for more than a stipulated period. Gradually his ideas become set and his opinions stereotyped. He loses the freshness of his mind and falls into the rut. So it is high time that Lord Linlithgow retires and a new man is appointed in his place.

The British Public and American Attitude towards India :

The British public is angry. Some of its spokesmen have taken serious objections to the opinions expreseed about India in a section of the American press and by a number of American publicists. Even the so-called friends of India including the "Daily Herald" and Vernon Bartlett have fallen foul of Mr. Luce, the publisher of such popular American periodicals as "Life and Time." Nor has Mr. Willkie escaped censure at the hands of the British public. His straightforward views regarding the situation in Russia and the necessity of opening a second front at once were already taken as a nuisance. But on the top of it came his radio address in which he advocated an immediate change of policy towards eastern countries and a definitely clear cut enunciation of war aims particularly in respect of the oriental world. The articles of Louis Fischer, full page advertisement in the "New York Times," the statement of Mr. Luce and lastly the radio address of the runner-up in the last presidential election have made British people frantic. They have called in question the right of the Americans to meddle in matters which belong by divine right to the British Government. Herbert Morrison, one of these redoubtable labourites who compromise with capital at home and feel sympathy for the peasants and labourers in India, became bitter at the effrontery of the impudent Yankees. He thought it necessary to make a speech in which he compared American and British war production. If America produced at speedier rate, she might possibly have some say in Indian affairs. But in this field also British production was greater and quicker. Then why this interference in the close British preserve?

The Unity of India :

In these days when the principle of vivisecting India appeals to many, it is refreshing to read the lecture on its Unity, delivered some time ago by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar at the Rotary Club, Dehra Dun. He does not minimise the fact that "religion is the very negation of nationalism, and it makes patriotism impossible." Particularly when it is fanatically pursued, it becomes "a solvent rather than a unifying force in the modern world." But apart from religion there are other forces and factors to be reckoned with. They contribute so much to national unity, that division on the ground of religion alone may not only be uncalled for but atrocious as well. Sir Jadu Nath for instance refers to the geographical features of this country. Not only the whole of Northern India is one vast plain without any barriers

to keep one portion divided from another but the South also is not effectively barred from the North. In fact the country is geographically so situated as to become militarily one unit. "Japanese tanks," he quotes a Chinese General, "can roll over Northern India from Calcutta to Lahore as smoothly as ivory balls over a green billiard table." Independent political divisions with different policies and different armies will from this standpoint become suicidal. Military necessity demands that India should be one and undivided. Sir Jadu Nath also emphasises among other traditions those laid down by two centuries of Mughal rule in India. A uniform administrative system throughout the Empire, one official language, one uniform system of coinage and measures and weights, an all-India cadre of higher public services, and the frequent marches of armies from province to province created a tradition of Indian unity, which nothing can efface. We hear too often of the contributions of British rule in respect of political and administrative unity and say very frequently that vivisection of India will undo the work of several generations of British workers in this country. But it is time also to remember that such vivisection will not only undo the past contributions of British rule in regard to political unity but will be a violent attack upon the traditions of Mughal administration as well.

I.C.S. and Future Development of India :

The Hon'ble Sir Jogindra Singh visualised a glorious future for India in an address to the I.C.S. probationers at Dehra Dun. He also expressed his hope that the members of the Indian Civil Service will effectively help in post-war years in reorganising the country, in remodelling our society and in making our people better and happier in every respect. I.C.S. rule and people's happiness may not, however, go together. Not only the continuance of the Indian Civil Service with its extra Indian recruitment and control is itself inconsistent with India's constitutional growth and will in fact be the living symbol of India's utter dependence upon Whitehall but otherwise also the members of this Service will be by training, tradition and conditions of employment absolutely unequal to the demands of a state in which people are likely to be happy, contended and prosperous. In such a state the functions of government must be positive and not simply negative as to-day. The Civil Service, which is the instrument of the state, will be required not merely to prohibit people from doing this or doing that. It will be required not simply to maintain law and order and quell disturbances when they may break out. But it will be called upon to organise education, provide employment, start industries and place them on a sound footing, develop agriculture and provide for necessary marketing facilities. The members of the Indian Civil Service are, however, trained only for performing negative functions and it is regrettable that even these functions they have not found it possible to discharge with much success during recent years. As for the positive duties without an efficient performance of which the glorious future envisaged by the Hon'ble Sir Jogindra can never be attained, the Heaven-born Service did not bother about them before. During the years of provincial autonomy and since the beginning of the War whenever such duties have been undertaken, they have been muddled by the members of the I.C.S. In fact the sooner we begin to count without this body in post-war India, the better for us from every standpoint. The War has broken many traditions in the present world. Let it break once for all the tradition of I. C. S. rule in this country.

An International University :

Bertrand Russel (to call him by his popular name) contributed an article to a recent issue of the *Fortnightly* and proposed therein the establishment of an international university in some neutral territory after the War. Education, guided and controlled by national states, promotes only a national spirit. If the world is to return to peace on a stable basis and cease to be a battle ground of warring nations in the future, this national spirit of the peoples must be replaced by internationalism. But to this end it is essential that the system of education must be changed. It is necessary no doubt that in every country school and college education must be conducted on different lines so as to inculcate in the students a feeling of fellowship with other countries of the world. But such an achievement will neither be easy nor enough. Bertrand Russel of course thinks that it will be easier to achieve this end in such countries as Britain and intensely difficult in countries like Germany. But most people will not agree with him in this estimate. In Britain education may not be conducted on national lines in an aggressive and brazen-faced manner. But the traditions, and environments are so British, that even without this aggressiveness British schools and universities produce people impregnated through and through with British nationalism and imperialism. In any event if serious attempts are made to conduct education on new lines, that will not be enough. It will be necessary to have an international university in some neutral country for post-graduate education so that the activities of this institution may be an example to educational institutions in all countries and so that the alumni of this university, imbued with new ideals, may be an effective instrument of internationalism in every part of the world. Teaching in this university should be so conducted, text-books should be so chosen and teachers should be so recruited as to promote the new ideal. In the teaching of history particularly, a good deal of care will have to be taken. It has been so far the handmaid of political party, of religious community and of national sovereignty. Let it be at last an instrument of international fellowship.

Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore conceived the idea of such a University immediately after the last World War and started the Viswabharati. It has not grown to huge dimensions and has not made as much noise as an experiment of such a nature might have made in the west. But all the same those who had known the Poet have certainly heard of the institution as well. But Bertrand Russell writes a fairly long article on an international university without any reference to Tagore and his work. A Britisher does not shed his national egoism even when he preaches internationalism.

Churchill's Ambition :

Mr. Churchill has given us an idea as to British war aims in a recent speech at the Mansion House. He has disclaimed any intention on the part of his Government to extend British imperialism to territories belonging to other European Powers. But he is determined, he says, to maintain the existing Empire of Britain. He tells us that he has not become Premier to liquidate the Empire of Britain. The Indian public has already been made aware of it in more ways than one. But it is good that Mr. Churchill has made his intention so definitely clear. The allies of Britain should not have any longer a doubt that one of the main objectives of their fighting is to maintain the present British Empire in tact.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Will War Come to India ?—By N. G. Jog, with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, P. C. Published by the New Book Company, Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. ii + 300. Price Rs. 3.

Published on the 3rd September, 1941, this book consists of Mr. Jog's weekly contributions to the "Bombay Chronicle" based on the reports received in India of the fighting in different fronts during the first two years of World War, No. 2. Written under the unfavourable conditions inevitable in the hurry and bustle of a newspaper office, the comments attracted wide attention to which the reviewer can bear witness as he spent three months in the Bombay Presidency last year and not only read them himself but also heard them praised far and wide. Their value lies in the fact that they are practically a contemporary chronicle of a critical period for the democracies.

The writer was probably the first among Indian journalists to point out the dreadful efficiency of the Nazi war machine during the "phoney" period of the war and though his opinions had no influence so far as the adoption of new strategical methods is concerned, they are nonetheless interesting as proving that, on occasions, even the layman can see further through a wall than the professional soldier.

Mr. Jog is the master of a forceful style, can use and has used his varied and large vocabulary to such purpose that his descriptions are vivid to the extent that the ordinary reader finds no difficulty in drawing a faithful picture of what he seeks to convey. Some of the articles included in the "Fall of France," "Battle of Atlantic" and "Invasion of Russia" cannot be relegated to the class of fugitive writing—they are literature. And the only criticism which may be urged against these is that they are too short and therefore do not afford the reader an opportunity of judging whether the writer, has the power necessary for a longer and a more sustained endeavour.

The defect from which the book suffers is that in it we see only the beginnings of a titanic struggle and of a vast world upheaval which of course is due to the limits within which the writer has confined himself.

The diary of the war which forms the appendix giving, as it does, the dates of the more important events which happened between the 3rd September, 1939 and the 2nd September, 1941, adds to the value of the book.

The reviewer recommends Mr. Jog's book to those who would like to know something about the opening phases of the present war as seen through Indian eyes.

H. C. Mookerjee

Rājadharma (Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Row Lectures, University of Madras).—By K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. The Adyar Library Series, No. 27. Demy octavo, 29 formes.

The two Readership Lectures on *Rājadharma*, now published in a book form, with copious notes added to them, cannot but be estimated as a valuable addition to the Adyar Library Series. Professor Aiyangar is well-known as a capable writer on Indology by his two previous publications, *viz.*,

Ancient Indian Polity (1914, 1934) and *Ancient Indian Economic Thought* (1935). By the title *Rājadharma* is meant 'the King's Dharma' summing up 'the knowledge of all particular duties' as embodied in the Dharmaśāstras. Thus the author has set upon himself the arduous task of making an all-out attempt to indicate the all-embracing or comprehensive scope of the Dharmaśāstras or Smṛitis as regards the whole duty of a person, considered both as an individual and as a member of society—the duty which is enforceable by the king or ruler of the land. In the two Lectures before us, the author has not only made a wide survey of the vast field of Smṛiti literature in its historical development but essayed to bring us round to the right way of understanding its philosophical background, co-ordinating its varied contents, and appreciating its indispensable need from age to age. Its uninterrupted growth through the Epics, the Purāṇas, the Bhāshyas, Vyavasthās, and Nibandhas, down to the Muslim period has been admirably sketched. The sincerity of his motive cannot be mistaken even in the midst of his polemics and advocacies. Upon the whole, I can say that many of his findings are acceptable.

It is quite true to say that the Indian wisdom, as exhibited in the Smṛitis, has been guided not so much by rigorous logical canons as by legal fictions and equity, although, as the author has rightly pointed out, the legal fictions indulged in to meet doubtful cases differed from those employed by European jurists. If, even for his note on the Ājīvikas, reliance has been placed on Sir Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, he can be excused. But his otherwise rational mind seems to have given way to superstition when he has argued for the infallibilty of the Veda. I wish he had rationally shown how the scope of man's existence and of man's duty in relation to the universal order was clearly defined in the early Upanishads. Attention might be drawn, for instance, to the Taittirīya Upanishad (I. 2) which insists on habilitating man's functional existence in five contexts (*pañchasu adhikaraṇeshu : adhilokam, adhijyautisham, adhividyam, adhiprajñam, adhyātmam*); to the same Upanishad which in its valedictory address (I. 11), suggests the course to be adopted in cases not covered by the rules enjoined: *Athābhyākhyāteshu ye tatra brāhmaṇāḥ sammarśinaḥ yuktā āyuktāḥ alūkshā dharmakāmāḥ syuḥ yathā te teshu varteran tathā teshu vartethāḥ*, which clearly anticipates the consultation of the *Parishads*.

None of the great Indian teachers proved to be a revolutionary, not even the Buddha, in dealing with secular matters. While speaking of national welfare and national solidarity, the Buddha (Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Ch. I) opined that what has held good as a received custom, should not be upset, and nothing should be forcibly introduced which does not tally with that which has held good as custom. And Aśoka, too, in speaking of Dhamma, described it as *porāṇā pakiti*, "ancient custom," that which is of long standing (*dīghāvuse*, M.R.E.). It was Indianism or collective good sense which found an effective expression through a representative man or a representative writer of the age and of the place.

Professor Aiyangar's Lectures commend themselves to us much for the comprehensive treatment of the subject and to a certain extent, for the originality of his views. Their value lies pre-eminently in the way shown to approach the study of the Smṛiti texts in reference to their proper historical contexts and to their primary sources, and no less in the interest awakened for the study itself.

B. M. BARUA

Studies in Shāhnāmeh.—By Sir J. C. Coyajee, late Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta. Published by the Author, Bombay Fort Printing Press. Pp. xviii+325.

The Studies in Firdausī's great epic Shāhnāma, now pubilshed in a handy book form with an introduction and an index, embody the lectures which Sir J. C. Coyajee had delivered in 1938 as the Government Fellowship Lecturer in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay. The present work really forms a companion volume to his earlier publication—the *Cults and Legends of Ancient Iran and China*, in which an attempt was made to show the close similarities that existed between several characters and episodes of the Shāhnāma, on the one hand, and the well-known heroes and legends of China on the other. The object of the present work, as the author puts it, ' has been to contribute further to the study of that large body of Iranian and foreign legends and mythology, which forms the groundwork of the Shāhnāmeh and which endows that epic with much of its charm.' (Introd., p. viii.)

Of the six essays or lectures which find their place in the present work, the first is devoted to the consideration of the interesting topic of theology and philosophy in Firdausī, the second to that of the legend of the Holy Grail, the third to that of the Round Table of King Kai Khusrau, the fourth to that of an Iranian Odyssey, the fifth to that of Isfandiār (Isfandiyār), the sixth and last to that of Zamyād Yasht and the Iranian epic. The main results obtained by the author after a deep and prolonged study of the subject in its various aspects of history, legends, mythology and religious thought, all in connection with Firdausī's Shāhnāma, have been clearly stated and summarized in the introduction. The author seems right when he opines that the religious and philosophical opinions expressed by the poet in his great epic are nothing but so many *obiter dicta* of Firdausī. These are directly traceable to the Zoroastrian works that were accessible to the poet through Pahlavī. To put it in his own words, ' A great deal of the philosophy of the Sasanian age has been transmitted to us by the genius of Firdausī rendered into excellent poetry. He was thus the representative and the successor not only of the Pahlavī historical tradition but of Pahlavī philosophical speculation.' (Introd., p. xiii.)

As a matter of fact, the main interest of this publication lies in establishing Firdausī's debt to Pahlavī writers, the author going so far as to suggest that the Iranian poet knew of such Pahlavī writings as *Dina-i Mainog-i Khirad*, *Dādistan-i Dinik* as well as some other works. Whether in tracing the sources of Firdausī's religious, philosophical and ethical ideas or in tracing the origin of the legend of the Holy Grail or in tracing the sources and other historical details in the Shāhnāma, the author is concerned to draw our attention to the Avestan literature as the fountain head.

It is nothing but truism to suppose that like a great man, a great poet is one who is indebted most to the past, or that an epic, especially one which is full of national spirit like the Shāhnāma, contains a true and vivid picture of all the racial and other influences whether Chinese, Hittite or Babylonian.

But much credit is due to Sir J. C. Coyajee for the masterly treatment of each of the little problems which is more than a matter of passing interest to a serious historico-critical student of the Shāhnāma. One can very well say that the present essays are not only informative but in places thought-provoking and illuminating.

It requires no argument to prove Firdausi's debt to earlier writings available in the country, as he himself acknowledges that in clear terms. The main historical issue is still to be discussed and settled—did the Shāhnāma serve only as a poetical vehicle for the Zoroastrian religious thoughts and political ideas or did it unconsciously serve the purpose of expressing and interpreting the Islamic thought and ideas (with which Firdausī was directly acquainted), in terms of the earlier legends of the long line of Sasanian kings who figure as heroes in the great Iranian epic ? The last word remains yet to be said on this momentous issue.

The autor has thrown some valuable light on an important chapter in the history of the literature of the world and invites the attention of the reader to a consideration of the influence exerted by the great mass of Iranian legends and traditions upon the poetry and romance of Europe in the Middle Ages. This is a subject of absorbing interest to the lovers of mythology and legends and will open a new field of research.

M. ISHAQUE

Marriage and Family in Mysore.—By M. N. Srinivas, M.A., LL.B., with a Foreword by Mr. N S. Subba Rao, M.A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law. Published by New Book Company, 188 90, Hornby Road, Bombay. 1942. Pp. 218. Price Rs. 7-8.

The book under review is a laborious and careful study of the institutions of marriage and family among the Kannada-speaking Hindu castes in the Mysore State constituting more than two-thirds of the total population of the state. The institution of marriage is of immense sociological significance in more than one direction, while the family is the primary social unit everywhere in human society. The study of the evolution of these two institutions is not only of great sociological interest, but has a fascinating touch of romance about it. The origin of these institutions and the course of their evolution have given rise to an enormous amount of speculation and scholars have built up different theories working on different data or by putting different interpretations on the same data. Comparative ethnography here comes to the aid of the sociologist to an extent perhaps not equalled in any other fieid of social study. Researches in this field so far force us to this conclusion at least that the course of evolution has not been uniform everywhere. At the same time they enable us to make one or two generalisations about some trends in social development almost throughout the globe. For instance, the inferior position of the female as compared with male and her domination by the latter in the early stage, her being regarded as the property of the male, perhaps accounted for by the inherent physiological weakness of the fair sex in a society governed by the crude principle of ' might is right,' is slowly supplanted with the progress of civilisation, by the idea of equality between sexes. Then, we are led to the conclusion that the prime cause of marriage and family is purely biological, although as man progresses in the scale of civilisation, it recedes into the background and is overlaid with a mass of other social forces. Another conclusion that is also warranted by the study of facts among different races and tribes is about the universal trends towards monogamic marriage, although man is essentially polygamous by instinct. All these conclusions are borne out by researches carried on by eminent anthropologists and ethnographers among primitive peoples as also by the study of customs and conventions among more civilised peoples which are

survivals from a primitive condition. While going through the rites and beliefs connected with marriage and family life of Kannada castes so laboriously collected by the author and narrated in the book, we find renewed support for these generalisations. The great danger in sociological and ethnographical researches is the tendency to over-simplification by classifying and interpreting facts in a facile way according to some preconceived theories, instead of deducing theories from available data. For instance quaint rites, practices and beliefs among primitive peoples are too naïvely classified under such categories as patriarchy or matriarchy, promiscuity, polygamy, polyandry or marriage by capture, etc., if they have the slightest suggestion to such classification. The result is false conclusions, often refuted by facts revealed by subsequent researches. We are sorry to find that the author has not been able quite to avoid this pitfall in a number of instances. It is all the more deplorable that the author should himself be the victim of a fault which he has found with Mr. C. H. Rao and Mr. A. K. Iyer in connection with their theory about certain marriage customs of some castes in Mysore which they explain as the relics of the practice of marriage by capture. He remarks and very rightly (pp. 107-8):—"The desire to jump to far-reaching conclusions without the support of necessary evidence is a disease against which every scientist ought to take precautions. We have to admit here that we have not evidence enough to conclusively assert the existence of a prior state of capture." We cannot accept his interpretations of some practices without hesitation and doubts. For instance, his view about the practice of payment of *tera* (bride-price) by the bridegroom party to the father of the girl or to the first husband's family in case of a widow or divorcee, is that it suggests the idea of ownership of the girl by the recipients of *tera* (p. 17). But we may ask what about bridegroom-price so common among many castes in Bengal and also among Kannada Brahmins mentioned by him. He has not suggested the same explanation in this case. He comes out with a different explanation there, *viz.*, disparity in demand and supply of brides and bridegrooms among Brahmins and Non-Brahmins leading to bridegroom and bride prices respectively (p. 57)—an explanation which appears much more plausible to us.

His explanation of the mass of rituals associated with marriage both among Brahmins and Non-Brahmins as "the natural reaction of the primitive mind to a crisis" (p. 87) appears to us to be too naïve and an over-simplification of the mental complex of the primitives of which these rites are the survivals. This factor certainly explains some of the rites, but not all and even in the former cases, perhaps partially. It is rather difficult for us to unravel the tangled skein of impulses and instincts that enter into the working of the primitive mind. The author remarks (p. 86): "Neither Brahmin nor Non-Brahmin marriage can be understood without an imaginative understanding of the mental setting of the originators of these rites. To the savage mind marriage is an event of profound importance and mystery." Quite so. That is exactly the reason why we should hesitate to explain the rites connected with marriage by a single impulse like the fear of the evil spirits. His explanation of certain rites purporting to be 'dominance-test' as a 'confession of the defeat of the social law (of subjection of woman to man) at the hands of individual heredity' (p. 200) does not quite convince us. It is quite probable that these are not survivals from primitive society but of later growth, *i.e.* after the rise of the idea of sex equality. We might multiply such instances, but it is needless.

Among notable omissions of the author we should mention, first, his failure to discuss the future of marriage and family among the people falling within the scope of his study. He has just touched on the question of the joint family *vs.* the individualistic family only in the last paragraph of the book, but he has not developed the theme and attached to it the importance that it deserves. He should have also discussed the problem of the changing position of women in Kannada society more fully. In Chapter XVIII he has dwelt at length on the age-long conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. He has mooted the question why there is hardly any similar conflict between daughter-in-law and father-in-law. Curiously enough he has no explanation to offer. We have very great doubts if the chapters on 'Death ceremonies.' 'Vratas, Festivals, etc.,' 'The Family in folk-lore,' 'The Mother-in-law—Daughter-in-law Conflict in folklore and fiction.'—fit in well with the argument of the book.

Lastly, we should draw the attention of the author to a number of slipshod mistakes in spelling and grammar, some of which can hardly be put down to the printer's devil. A few specimens are as follows:—

P. 20—'Anomaly' spelt as 'anamoly.' 'practise' (verb) spelt as practice.

P. 114—'devised' spelt as 'deviced.'

P. 166—'An Young' for 'a young.'

P. 173—'Woman visit' for 'women visit'; p. 100—'these' for 'there.'

We hope the author will rectify them in the second edition of the book. The printing also leaves much room for improvement. All things considered, we should think the book would be a useful addition to the collection,—a rather meagre one,—of works on Indian sociology and ethnography. We should also wish with the author that the book would awaken the interest of other scholars in the subject and stimulate further research not only on the social institutions of Kannada alone but of other parts of India as well. It is really deplorable that in this vast land of ours teeming with so many ethnic and linguistic groups at all stages of culture representing, so to say, a cross-section of the process of evolution of human civilisation and offering boundless fields of research in the fields of anthropology, sociology and ethnography, there should be so few scholars working in these fields. We only hope that this publication would attract other workers to these fruitful fields of study.

A. K. GHOSAL

The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.—By Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.). Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 8.

We are accustomed to regard the history of the Sultanate period as a "jejune chronicle of revolutions, rebellions, and wars." Dr. Qureshi, however, says, "When the scrutinising gaze of researeh penetrates the dust clouds raised by trampling armies and fighting hordes a vision of the real Sultanate is granted to the student which reveals a pageantry of patient administrators, of earnest philosophers, and teachers, of artists and master-builders, of religious thinkers and saintly reformers." Where the Cambridge History of India (Vol. III) gives us a very unfavourable picture, Dr. Qureshi

presents a picture that is undoubtedly very favourable. He gives us an admirably clear synthesis, learned and readable but not always convincing. We expected more scientific detachment. In view of the treatment of the history of the Sultanate by Smith, Wolseley Haig and other European writers a subjective approach is perhaps inevitable but that does not mean that such an approach is desirable.

Dr. Qureshi lays emphasis on the theory of an indivisible Muslim world, shows that the fiction of the Khalifa as a legal sovereign and the Sultan, the actual sovereign as his representative was maintained throughout this period. When Babur conquered India, he established the new theory that the Padishah was the Caliph for his own territories.

All political power depends on the co-operation of certain strong elements in the state. The Sultanate had the passive support of the people, the active support of the nobles and the co-operation of the Ulema. The sultan was legally subordinate to the Muslim law, which in the existing situation he could not transgress. The author has shown that even Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughlak could not flout Islamic law. "The state was governed by the canonical law in all the departments of its life." We also find in this book that much influence was exercised by Abbasid administrative tradition on the administration of the Sultanate. But our author goes too far when he says, "The rough and ready methods of selecting the Sultan not only worked well but were the only means of finding the right man at the right time." The author also exposes the propagandist tendency of the average Muslim chronicler, who was anxious to tell the Persian-speaking world, under the heel of the Mongol, how powerful Islam was in India. He quotes with approval Wolseley Haig's statement, "The rhapsodies of Muslim historians might delude us into the belief that the early Islam occupation of Northern India was one prolonged holy war for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam had we not the proof that this cannot have been the case."

The treatment of the Hindus during the Sultanate period is described as tolerant. They were accorded the status of *zimmis*. They practised their religion openly and with ostentatious display and even the more puritanical of the Sultans could hear the conchshells and bells of idol temples. He quotes in support of his contention Barani and others. But the evidence is not conclusive and the subject requires a much more detailed treatment before the theory which is plausible can appear convincing. So far as justice was concerned, there is the bare statement, "cases between Muslims and non-Muslims were decided according to the principles of equity." But this might mean anything and those who are not easily convinced will naturally argue that this was quite compatible with denial of justice. The author should have confined himself only to those aspects of political, social, religious and economic life where he found sufficient evidence. An attempt to present a uniform picture of efficiency, toleration, and good government on the basis of slender evidence, exposes the author to the charge of writing with a preconceived favourable bias.

This unfavourable impression is strengthened by the anxious desire of the author to prove that the financial burdens of the Hindus had very much wards the close of Hindu rule and that it was the Sultans who tuation. Dr. Qureshi here relies only upon modern authors. He rove that "too lavish praise has been bestowed upon Akbar's policy towards the Hindus was a recognition of ver lost." As the reviewer read this book

very carefully, and he must say that everybody will find that it repays careful perusal, he formed an impression that the author with the zeal of a specialist in favour of his particular subject, is not altogether scientific in his approach to the period preceding and the period succeeding. Moreover he is constrained to say that as a scientific historian he should not have quoted with approval in support of his theory of good government, such statements as are either poetic eulogy or gross flattery as the following:—"From the mouth of the Indus to the seashore no one even heard the name of a thief, a thug or a robber"—p. 203. "So great is the Sultan's care for his people that Vishnu himself had retired from the care of the world and gone to sleep on the ocean of milk"—p. 214.

N. K. SINHA

Ourselves

[I. Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti.—II. Jogendrachandra Ghose's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law.—III. Premchand Roychand Studentship.—IV. Results of the B.Com Examination.—V. Quinquennial Report of the Appointments and Information Board.]

I. Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti

Mr. Jogeschandra Chakravorti, M.A., has been appointed the representative of the University on the Executive Council of the Bengal Table Tennis Association in the present year.

* * *

II. Jogendrachandra Ghose's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law

The following subjects have been selected for the above prize for the year stated against their names:—

1942—Law relating to inter-caste marriage among the Hindus.

1943—A comparative study of the place of Customs in Hindu Law.

1944—Progressive changes in the status of the Sudras according to the Dharmasastras.

* * *

IV. Results of the B.Com. Examination

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1942, was 801 of whom 60 did not appear, and 9 were expelled. 637 passed, 5 in First Division. The percentage of pass was 45·4 as against 45·7 in 1941.

* * *

III. Premchand Roychand Studentship

Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary subjects for 1941 was awarded to Mr. Rabindrakumar Dasgupta and Swami. The former is carrying on researches in English and the latter on the Eastern

V. Quinquennial Report of the Appointments and Information Board

The report delineates the activities of the Board during the first five years of its existence. It was constituted in 1937 on the initiative of the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and worked during the entire period of these five years under his guidance as chairman. The Board is a body of sixteen members, some of whom are well known educationsists and some noted business men. Mr. D. K. Sanyal has been its executive secretary from the start.

The object with which the Board was constituted and has worked since its birth is to select apprentices for practical training in firms and industrial concerns, to recommend to firms the names of suitable candidates for appointment, to supply information to students of the University regarding careers open to them and to organise training for service examinations. The University in fact regarded it as one of its important and essential functions to put its *alumni* in touch with possible employers as far as practicable. And in order to discharge this function as satisfactorily as possible it set up the Board and assigned to it the duties just referred to.

The procedure which the Board has followed in fulfulling its functions is very simple and straightforward. It first registers the names of those whom he regards as satisfactory candidates for different kinds of openings. It also meanwhile puts itself in touch with business and industrial firms and other possible employers. It secures information as to the nature and character of the vacancies in these establishments and then proceeds to select after necessary examination the candidates whom it regards as the most suitable for the vacancies. The candidates so nominated are then sent to the employers who make their own choice. It should be added that in case suitable candidates are not available, the Board does not forward any candidate at all. During the quinquennium 2,937 candidates were registered and the Board succeeded in securing employment or training for 631 of them.

After five years of experience the Board happens to be of opinion that although a large number of candidates still prefer [redacted] occupation with fixed hours and conditions of wor[redacted] who are eager to utilise openings in which the [redacted] exercise of initiative and enterprise and i[redacted]

is certainly a very healthy sign. The report also refers in some detail to the opportunities of employment in such major industries as jute and tea. Technical training which if necessary for appointment in a responsible capacity in such industries has so far been lacking. But the Board is making efforts to make good this deficiency.

The work which the Board has already put in and the further schemes it has undertaken reflect great credit upon this infant institution.